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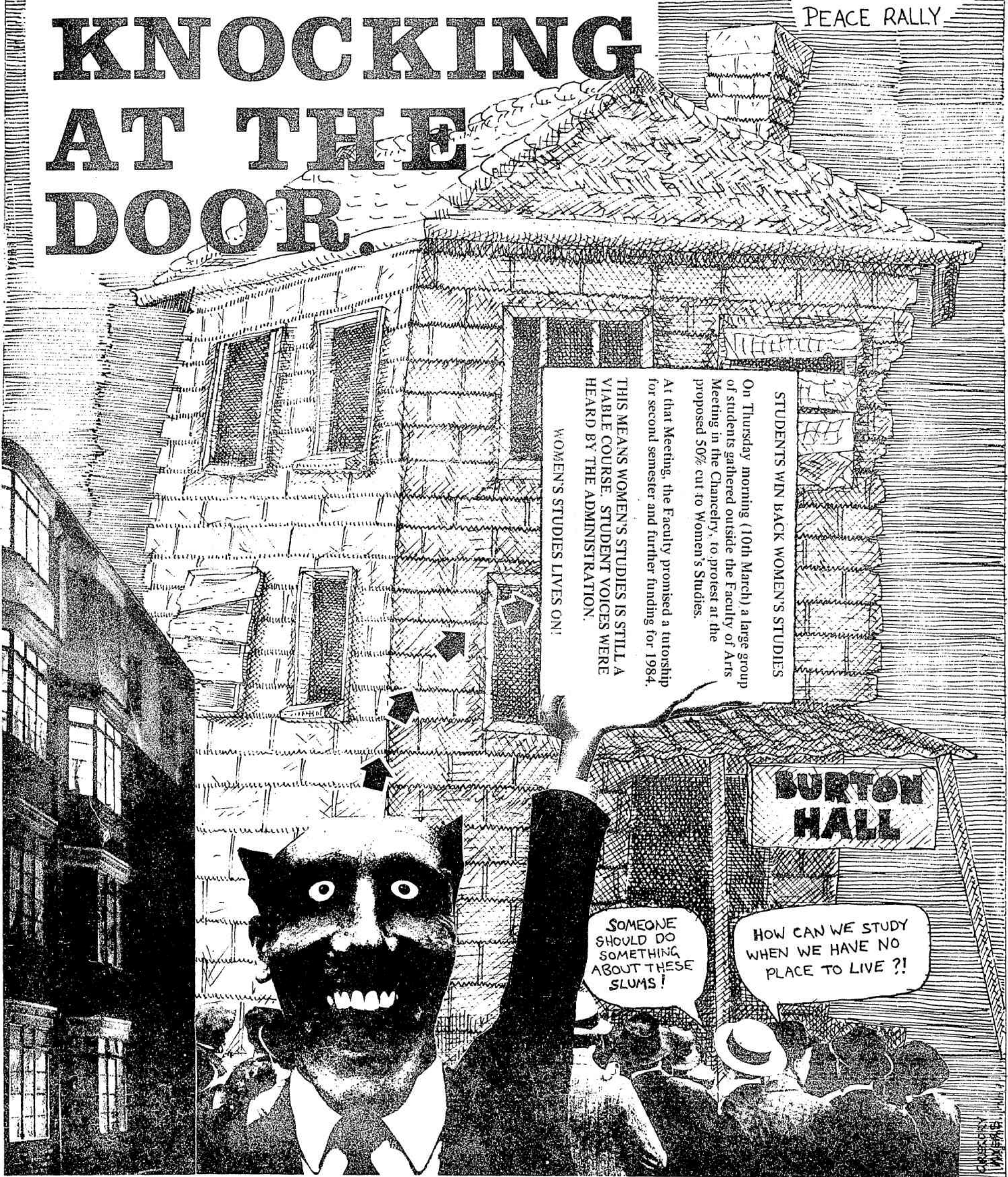
No. 2 14 MARCH 1983.

ACCOMMODATION CRISIS

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

PEACE RALLY

SOMEONE'S KNOCKING AT THE DOOR.



WOMEN'S STUDIES LIVES ON!

THIS MEANS WOMEN'S STUDIES IS STILL A VIABLE COURSE. STUDENT VOICES WERE HEARD BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

At that Meeting, the Faculty promised a tutorship for second semester and further funding for 1984.

STUDENTS WIN BACK WOMEN'S STUDIES

BURTON HALL

SOMEONE SHOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT THESE SLUMS!

HOW CAN WE STUDY WHEN WE HAVE NO PLACE TO LIVE?!

CORCORAN

Editorial

The election of a Federal Labor government on March 5th is a significant victory for poor and under-privileged groups in Australia. With the end of the struggle against Fraserism however comes the struggle to redress the hardship caused by eight years of Liberal government. We can expect, in the short term a few ameliorative measures from the ALP which has taken government in a system which is inherently biased towards those with wealth and power. It is necessary therefore to maintain popular pressure on the politicians. Bob Hawke successfully used the rhetoric of consensus - Bringing Australia together. He will attempt to use this as an excuse to do very little. In mediating between oppressed groups and their oppressors he will opt for wishy-washy solutions which perpetuate existing power hierarchies. If significant changes are made it will be as a result of mass action initiated at a grass-roots level. Accordingly we wish to place two items on Mr Hawke's agenda which have relevance to struggles currently being conducted on this campus.

1) The funding of Tertiary Education should be increased immediately. In recent years we have seen a steady erosion of funds. The departments which have suffered most from Fraser's razor are those which do not run 'meal ticket' courses, in particular those in Arts faculties around the country. The bias in funding given to vocationally oriented courses is in our view very dangerous. These courses are designed to train passive technicians for bourgeois society, (doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists) If these technicians question their function in perpetuating that society they are a threat to it. In some non-vocationally oriented courses ideas which threaten the status quo are being discussed. The Women's Studies Program at ANU is one such example. In examining the extent of the cultural economic oppression of women the students enrolled in the programme are challenging the existing sexual division of labour which is vital to the functioning of bourgeois society. It is no coincidence therefore that Women's Studies has borne the brunt of Fraser's

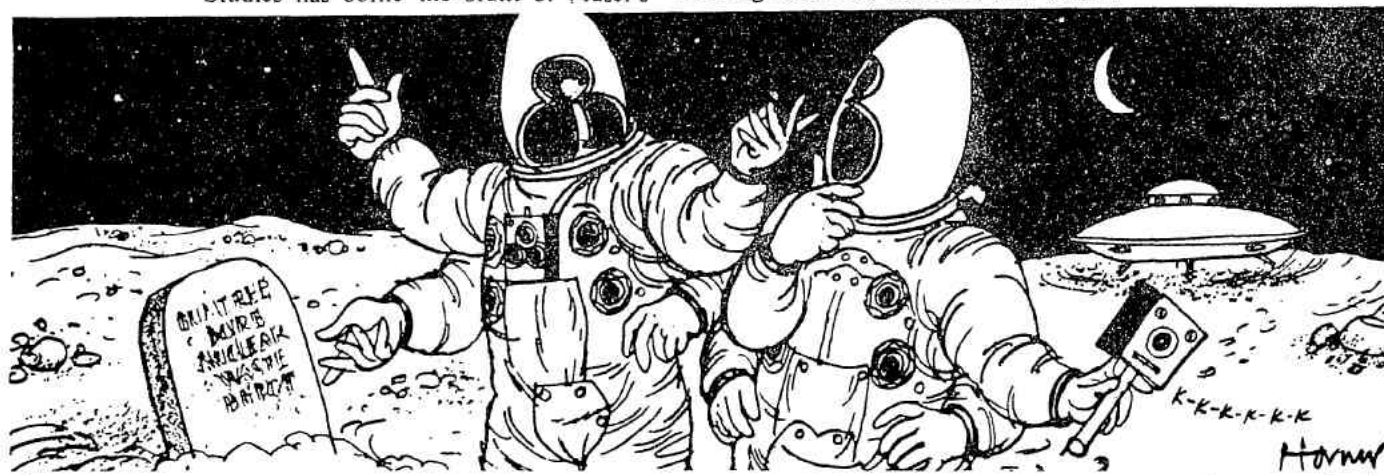
cuts. While I am not suggesting that any fiendish plot has been consciously devised in Parliament House, I would claim that in bourgeois culture the worth of 'education' is judged on a purely utilitarian basis. Schools, universities CAE's and TAFE colleges have in accordance with the needs of a class divided society, been seen as producers. When therefore the effects of funding cuts filter down to the faculties it is, those areas which are newly established, innovative and subversive which go under. I urge you to fight any curriculum which is underpinned by conservative ideology and to challenge the ideology which demands that students be moulded into pillars of society. Join the fight against cuts to Women's Studies!

2) The ALP Government should allocate funds for the construction of more and better student accommodation. While sixty rooms in Burton Hall sit empty there are currently long waiting lists for all halls and colleges; the YWCA is housing about 35 students and is turn-

ing others away daily. Facilities at the 'Y' are totally inadequate for students. There are no desks or places to keep books.

The reason Burton Hall is being kept partially empty is because of contracts made to accommodate conference groups. We believe however that the chronic problems which students face are sufficient justification for these commitments to be overlooked and for the consequences to be faced by the administration.

The problem is not simply confined to Canberra, it is symptomatic of a nationwide squeeze on student accommodation which generally means that those from lower income backgrounds are excluded. At Mitchell CAE student pressure was brought to bear to open a closed college because of the woeful accommodation problems for students in Bathurst. This fight was won. If there is sufficient support we can win ours. Come to the Accommodation Meeting Monday 14th March.



"G-U-M-T-R-E-E... B-O-R-E... N-U-C-L-E-A-R... W-A-S-T-E... D-E-P-O-T - Hey, that's it! This proves there must once have been a primitive form of intelligence here on this planet!"

snippets

The Times Higher Education Supplement (18.2.83) notes that Polish students are compelled to repay 100% of student loans/scholarships if they obtain 'less than good results', against proportions of 25% for 'good results' and nil for 'excellent progress'. In a State system as repressive and as tenuous as Poland's this is one way of ensuring that students learn and regurgitate the right ideas. While the situation is far from being this chronic in Australia we should nevertheless watch closely the Labor government's actions in respect of student loans. In an about face last year Labor decided not to oppose the scheme in the Senate. Students must oppose the loans scheme which is premised on a 'user-pays' idea of education.

A recent statement by students of Somerville College, Oxford condemned old-girl Margaret Thatcher's proposed

introduction of a loans scheme in the UK.

'We believe' the motion stated 'this marks a step back towards the idea that education is a privilege, enjoyed mainly by those who can afford it, not a right to be enjoyed by all. Restricted access to higher education is not only a waste of society's precious resources but also demeans the principle that education is valuable for its own sake' We couldn't agree more. This topic will no doubt be pursued in later issues.

Two women staffing the ANU Evangelical Union stall in O-Week were seen placing their group's leaflets inside of each Woroni in a pile which was on a nearby table. The editors wish to make it clear that any insert must be authorised by them. No responsibility is taken for the contents of the offending Evangelical Union leaflet.

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vinegar hill

NEW MEDICALLY TESTED CONTRACEPTIVES FOR MEN

Developments in contraceptive research at the Institute for International Population Control have recently made significant progress. Recognizing that contraceptives have to date focused mostly on women, the researchers felt that contraceptives for men was another area to be considered. The new device called the IPD (intra-penile device) resembles a miniature umbrella. Made of plastic, and copper wire the device is inserted at the bottom of the penis near the testicles in a minor surgical procedure. Upon erection the umbrella lifts, thereby, blocking the flow of the semen. The device has proven to be 97% effective in laboratory tests on mice, monkeys and human specimens. Laboratory tests have proven no significant side effects but users may experience a little pain, some bleeding, depression, weight gain, bloating and occasional infection. Deaths related to the IPD are under investigation. As there are no pain-sensitive nerves within the penis it was not considered a relevant complaint. Dr I.M. Enstrual, the founder of the clinic running the research spoke favourably on the IPD:

'The high effectiveness of the IPD is an immense improvement on past contraceptives and is the only one of its favourable properties. It also leaves the patient free from worry or control over the situation. This is felt by scientists to be a great advance in medicine.'

When asked about the possible risks of expulsion of the device, or side-effects, Dr Enstrual replied:

'The concerns we had over bleeding have been solved as we have found that the bleeding is not itself indicative of any structural damage. All other alleged symptoms could be related to many other aspects of the patient's health and the effectiveness of the device is seen as the over-riding factor.'

The Intra-Penile device, made by the Upjoan Chemical Co. Ltd. is being advertised to doctors to recommend strongly to their male patients.

Forthcoming there may be another more effective contraceptive for males. This is a chemical injection comparable to Depo-provera, used on women.

The injections are seen by authorities in the Institute of International Population Control as even more significant advances.

Dr O. Varies stated in an interview that 'the injectibles have great benefit in that patients accept them easily, cannot interfere with the device, and cannot have it withdrawn. No communication is necessary to inform the patient that he is receiving it as it can be given along with or in place of other shots, such as tetanus or polio, without the patient's consent.'

Researchers at the Institute felt that steps on male contraceptives were necessary as females were proving to be less and less willing subjects to experiments and were reverting to more basic self-controlled methods such as the diaphragm and lesbianism. Both the Upjoan Chemicals Co. Ltd. and the Institute of International Population Control were upset by losses in profits and possible losses to research funding. The market sales of the IPD and new chemical injections could thus prove to be just what is needed.

Bruccette

ACCOMMODATION CRISIS....

Since 1974, the Students' Association has been involved in campaigns to provide more, and better quality housing for the students of ANU.

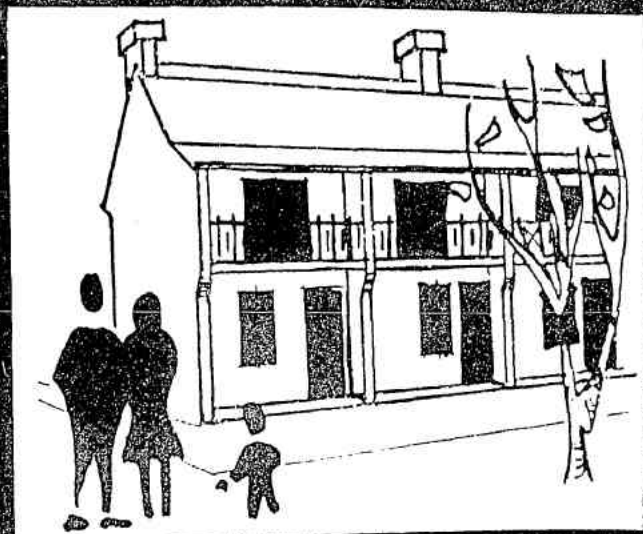
Given Canberra's ever shrinking rent-market, and skyrocketing prices, finding low-cost accommodation has become an increasingly important issue in many students' lives. Very few landlords will even consider leasing to groups, and unless you can afford rent of \$55 p.w. and upward, finding single accommodation on the private market is out of the question. The student housing problem is worsened considerably by the lack of catered and un-catered collegiate accommodation and University owned housing that is available to undergraduate students.

Burton/Garran Hall, the cheapest un-catered college has a waiting list of over 50, while there are over 60 vacant rooms in the college. There are, in fact, waiting lists for all the Halls and Colleges, and for places in the University Houses and Flats. It is worth noting that these waiting lists exist despite the fact that fees for the colleges (particularly catered ones), are so high that for a student on TEAS or other limited income they are not really a viable housing prospect. The university houses are not much better; someone on TEAS would not be able to pay rent, electricity, eat, buy books, stationery etc. without some other supplementary income, and even then they would still have to have a very small appetite. University housing is price scaled according to market prices, not according to how much students can afford to pay for something that is necessary to their well-being and study.

'A student who is continually harassed by financial worry is not a student who can give his or her best'

— Dr N. Curry — Vice Principal
State College of Victoria, 1979

Having somewhere to sleep and to study is just as important as what you study. Is accommodation a problem for you? Have you been having problems finding somewhere to live that you can afford and hopefully consider a pleasant environment to live in?



Get involved!

If you live in a hall or college find out when the Residents' Association meets. All residents are affected by decisions of the Administration, whether they be about the quality of food or the level of fees. It's no good merely complaining about things, if you and your fellow residents have something to say then you should have an active, rather than a nominal voice in the running of the place where *you live*. Remember a collective voice is a lot louder than a 'cry in the wilderness'. It is important that you are aware of the decisions that are being made around you. Accommodation is everyone's problem, even if you do have a roof over your head *this year*.

As well as this 'grass-roots' level of activity there are some wider issues to be considered. The University has the plans and the land for another Toad Hall type of accommodation. Funding would not have been impossible to obtain in the many years this idea has been around. So why with yet another housing crisis upon us this year has nothing been done about it? Why do rooms sit empty in Burton when there are students with nowhere to live. The University's story is that these rooms are reserved for conference accommodation — conferences that are generally held in the vacations — It is time we asked whose need comes first a visiting academic or a student of this University with nowhere to live?

These are some of the problems that we know about, there are many we don't.

What can you do?

If finding somewhere to live is a problem; look around the notice-boards in the Union building, particularly outside the SA office. There are also notice-boards at the Student Accommodation Office in the Chancery Annexe and in the Chifley Library foyer. Check the Canberra Times, particularly Wednesday and Thursday. If you decide to try and set up a group house be prepared for a lot of knockbacks. Be polite and pleasant as possible, no matter what gets thrown at you and remember, however facile it seems, that appearances *count* where landlords are concerned. Don't admit to being on TEAS or the dole if you can help it, but a landlord can enquire as to what you do, (to make sure you can pay the rent), before the lease is signed. Most landlords don't regard TEAS as an income and to them unemployed acquire leprosy along with the dole. If you are going to rent on the private market make sure you have enough money to cover the bond money, (up to and over \$600!), and getting basic furniture etc. It all adds up.

Talk to other people about your experiences, not just to get it off your chest, but also to help others improve the situation.

Contact: The Students' Association
The Student Accommodation Office.

In emergencies the Cottage can provide short-term accommodation. Contact the Students' Association if you need such accommodation.

The fate of part-time students on low incomes isn't even addressed by the Administration. There are many other students that are not on official university lists because they have found some housing. Whether they can afford it or not, whether they can study there or not is evidently no concern of the Administration.

It would appear that rather than care about students' housing needs the University is positively hostile to students. Last year the cheapest catered college was closed. The year before that part of Lennox House was closed, and before that half of Corin Huts was removed. To add to this the price of the remaining accommodation has skyrocketed. The Administration claims it is bound by the ANU Act to charge 'market rents' — the price of much of its accommodation is above that charged on the open market. It is surely everybody's right to have affordable accommodation, why does the university deny students that right?

The Students' Association can provide some accommodation in the form of billets and at the Cottage for those students who have nowhere to go. Fill out the form below and drop it in to the SA Office (1st floor Union Building) and we'll see what we can do.

Name:

Contact Place

Phone (perhaps?)

NB If you are unhappy about accommodation get on the waiting list with Student Accommodation, Chancery Annexe.

ACCOMMODATION MEETING
MONDAY 14 MARCH

1pm Union Bridge

Contact the Students' Association about your problems if you can't make it to the meeting.

LETTER

Dear Editors,

I wish to relate an incident from early in O-Week. It does not leave me with an optimistic view of my coming years on this campus. In fact it shows the general malaise of this campus, and of this society. I find it appalling.

There was a person struggling to move two large and obviously heavy boxes on one of Canberra's lovelier afternoons. The heat was oppressive, yet no-one offered any assistance. A few people walked by, obviously far too busy with the enormous pressure of academia. With two full colleges looking on it must have been the proximity of dinner that kept all occupied. Except, perhaps, for the full crowd in a ground floor bar not twenty metres away. However one person saw fit to offer some assistance so now each had a box to struggle with. Still they did not make much progress and as no more help was forthcoming they had to abandon the task.

The boxes belonged to a linguistics student just arrived from Japan. This person must have been bowled over by the welcome and friendship of our university. I was under the impression that this was a small and friendly campus. I also assumed that the purpose of O-Week was to greet newcomers and to make them feel at home.

Greg Myers.

APOLOGY

On behalf of the Students' Association I wish to express my sincerest regret that the statements in the Counter-Course Handbook referring to Professor John Molony could be interpreted in a highly derogatory and damaging way. This has arisen from an editorial oversight and in no way reflects the opinion in the questionnaire response. There is no doubt that Professor Molony is a person of the highest moral and ethical integrity and it is regrettable that this has been called into question. No malice was intended by this editorial mistake.

Once again I apologise for any misunderstanding or personal hurt this error may have caused.

Bill Redpath
Director of Student Publications

As Acting Returning Officer I open nominations for the following positions —

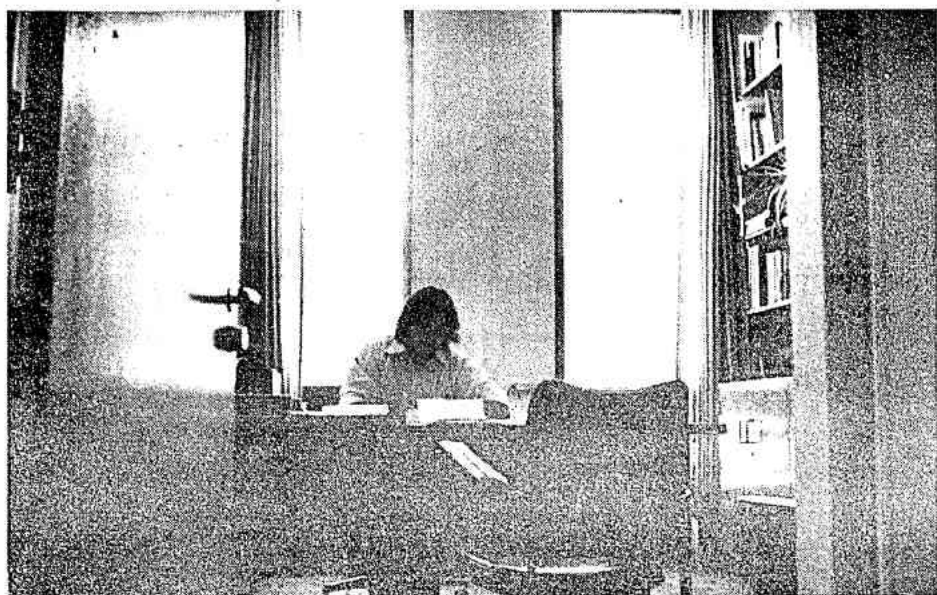
- 1 Returning officer for SA Elections
 - 1 SA Rep on the Arts Faculty
 - 1 SA Rep on the Economics Faculty
 - 1 SA Rep on the Asian Studies Faculty
 - 1 SA Rep on the Law Faculty
 - 1 SA Rep on the Science Faculty
 - 2 SA Reps on Buildings and Grounds Committee
 - 1 SA Rep on Library Committee
 - Chairperson Clubs and Societies Committee
 - 2 Clubs and Societies Committee members
 - 2 AUS Committee members
 - 1 Finance Committee Member
 - Chairperson Education Committee
 - 5 Education Committee Members
 - 1 SA Rep on the Computer User Committee
 - Welfare Officer
 - 2 SA Reps on the Housing Co-ordinator Committee
 - 2 SA Reps on the Housing Management Committee
- and the following positions, subject to ratification of the Students' Association meeting of Wednesday 16th March —
- 1 SA Rep on the Canberra Program for Peace Committee
 - 1 2XX SA Program Co-ordinator

Nominations for all of the above positions close at 12pm on Wednesday, 30th March, 1983. All nominations should be given to the Secretary of the Students' Association and elections will be held at the Students' Association meeting on Wednesday 30th March, 1983.

Bill Redpath

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PRESIDENT'S REPORT



As a party member, the ALP election victory on March 5th was a pleasant event. A more sympathetic government promises improvements in our condition, particularly as students. There is a need to be under no illusions, the election of a Hawke Labor Government does not offer the same hope as, say, the election of the Whitlam government did in 1972. At best the new Labor Government will be a conservative social-democratic government.

What a Labor Government offers is an opportunity to further gains. Rather than fighting the necessary defensive gains we have under the Liberals, we can begin to make advances. Now is the time for student action on our campus over a number of issues.

For example, students should be involved in the forthcoming Peace March on March 27th. Already peace and disarmament has become a large international issue. Not only should we be concerned to protest against the increasing likelihood of nuclear war in Europe, we should also be aware that Australia is a nuclear target because of American bases. Without pressure an ALP government is unlikely to do much in this area.

Similarly, ALP policy on technology is open to criticism. While Australian manufacturing industry is technologically deficient (a major contribution to recession) this is not sufficient to justify the uncritical development of technology without an exploration fusion energy or government assistance to 'sunrise' high-tech industries (not even necessarily Australian-owned).

Aboriginal issues must also be on the agenda. This is one of the more progressive areas of ALP policy since land rights and self-management are the basis. Students must be aware of the issues involved and support this policy against any backlash. As Pat O'Shane has suggested, we must challenge the racism in many courses.

Under the Liberals the position of women has deteriorated. Again this is a more progressive area of policy. It does not necessarily ensure self-managed women's services nor safe, cheap abortion clinics. It is crucial that as developments are made in areas of affirmative action etc. that women students are providing direction to change.

Of course, education must remain a crucial issue for students. While a Labor government will be better than the last government, their policy is hard to get enthused about since at its foundation there is a notion of education as human

capital. Obviously student agitation must continue. It is also worth remembering that during the last Labor Government significant gains were made by student on campus issues. Some of these have subsequently been eroded. There is considerable work to be done to improve course content, assessment and student decisionmaking.

There are many other issues ranging from accommodation to international questions. The campus is beginning to come awake again. A Labor Government is a blessing but no saviour. Now, more than ever, is the time for all students to be political. We can win.

On the more mundane level there have been a number of developments at ANU.

1. O-week - Orientation Week has just finished and seems to have been successful. I would like to thank all those involved and especially Frances Lowe for her work.

2. Economics - Students in the Economics Faculty will be asked about altering the Economics degree to allow accounting students to complete their qualifications in three years. There will also be debate about whether to call the degree an Economics degree or a Bachelor of Commerce. This consultation is a result of student representatives on committees. I personally favour calling the degree a Bachelor of Economics since the degree is awarded by the faculty and it will be no less economic than the current degree.

3. Women's Studies - The ad hoc compromises reached for the program are educationally unsatisfactory. Students will push for the return of two posts at the Faculty of Arts meeting and there will be a student protest.

4. SRC - There have been some delays which have prevented the constitution committee from meeting. There should be a meeting before the SA meeting.

5. SA Meeting - The Students' Association is run by general meetings that all students can attend. The first meeting is Wednesday 16th March at 8pm in the Union Bistro. Come along and participate in the policy of your student organisation.

Bill Redpath

P.E.M.S.O.

Greg Giles National Co-ordinator of the Part-time, External, Mature Age Students Organisation (PEMSO) spoke recently to a large group of PAMS on campus. Woroni interviews him to discover the background to PEMSO and the directions of the organisation over the next year.

employee. I am Education Activities Officer for the Macquarie University Students' Council as well as being a part-time student, by correspondence, at Ballarat CAE. The ramifications of this are that my work is limited to only a few hours a week. Quite a deal of PEMSO co-ordinating work is done by the AUS Education Research Assistant.

Woroni: What exactly is PEMSO? i.e. who are its members, how is it structured: where does it receive funding from?

Greg: PEMSO is a part of the Australian Union of Students (AUS) education department. Its membership is all of those students who fall into the category of 'external, part-time or mature age' on AUS member campuses. To give you some of the history of PEMSO; in 1976 the Australian Union of Students allocated \$1,000 for the establishment of the first National Part-time Students Conference, which brought together part-time students from every state to discuss their problems and their views of the state of education in Australia. From that conference a national body was formed calling itself the Part-time Students' Association (PTSA) which was administered by a national steering committee, consisting of representatives of part-time student bodies from each state. Since that time PTSA has undergone two further changes to its structure with the addition, in 1977 of External Students (name changed to Part-time External Students Organization (PESO) then in 1979 the inclusion of 'mature age' students. (name changed in 1981 to the present PEMSO).

In terms of structure, PEMSO has a three tiered decision making system which looks something like the following:

National Conference	National Co-ordinator
State Meetings	Regional Co-ordinators
Campus groups	

The national co-ordinator is elected at the yearly national conference, usually held in August, and the regional (state) co-ordinators are elected at meetings comprised of campus groups. In the past two years there has been a lack of interest in the regional co-ordinator positions, in 1982 there were only two co-ordinators both in Victoria, but this trend looks like being reversed this year. For instance the ACT will have a regional co-ordinator for the first time ever.

Woroni: Is your position full time?

Greg: No. In fact I am a full time

Woroni: What do you see as the major issues affecting part-time and mature age students?

Greg: The issues most often raised by these students are such things as the lack of adequate library opening hours, the provision of affordable childcare, provision for study leave and generally a lack of services provided by the University and student organisations on campus. Many of the needs of these students are similar to those of full-time undergraduates but there are also special problems which undergraduates don't have to agree with. For instance, trying to juggle the demands of a job, a family and study is an oft cited difficulty for PEMSO students.

Woroni: What issues will PEMSO be working on this year?

Greg: PEMSO has planned a childcare campaign which will be conducted in association with the AUS Women's Department. The aim of this campaign is twofold. Firstly to raise the issue with (and hopefully the consciousness of) students and predominately male University and CAE bureaucracies to again establish the importance of cheap on-campus childcare and secondly to lobby the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) to remove the policy which restricts universities and CAE's from using capital and recurrent funds for childcare purposes.

Apart from childcare, External Studies and study leave will also provide the basis for campaigns. PEMSO intends to run another joint campaign with the Public Service Association (PSA) and the Australian Clerical Officers' Association (ACOA) to attempt to change the present provisions which govern study leave entitlements.

For part-time, external, mature age students generally we will be holding skills workshops in each state. There will also be a national conference, which I've already mentioned, and two national meetings of state co-ordinators.

In concluding I would like to say that I hope there is some involvement from ANU PAMS students in PEMSO activities this year.

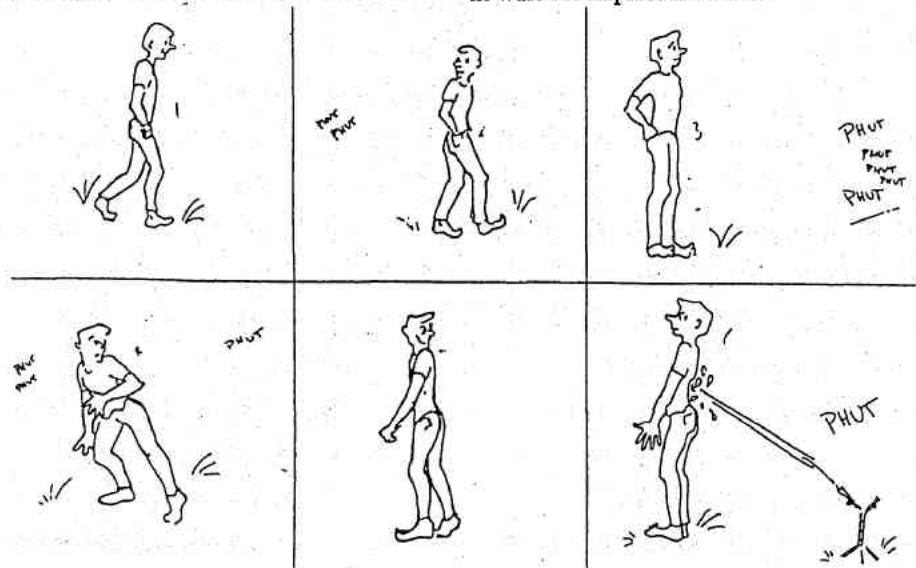
ON THE NOBLE ART OF SPRINKLER-DODGING

Why is it that the green population of this campus so resists the intrusion of people? Traps are set for the unwary: sophisticated water cannons with minds of their own guard all growing areas. When you see soggy gravel on the path ahead, take caution. When you hear the sinister pffut pffut pffut of their erratic

guidance system, pause to survey the situation.

On one recent estimate, there is usually a three second gap every two minutes. Only advanced precision will keep one completely dry.

One of the most puzzling aspects of this ANU Natural Hazard is its predilection for watering pathways. Perhaps it is a campaign for more garden territory. Or it may be that the sprinklers lie in wait for hapless students!



THE FRANKLIN BLOCKADE

Part Two: 'Risdon Gaol'

by Skyda Hopkins

The police very graciously commandeered a tourist coach to transport us in the middle of the night from Queens-town to Hobart. We were 15 women and 8 men in various stages of tiredness and sleeplessness, all grateful that we hadn't been crammed into the back of paddy wagons for the dark and winding five-hour trip to gaol. After bidding the women a fond farewell at their prison, we were taken across to the men's prison and through a number of high gates before finally disembarking from the bus.

I had cunningly hidden a couple of pens and some spare paper in both my socks because I'd heard these were very hard to come by inside. I wasn't taking any chances with my beloved dental floss either. It was tucked securely in my underpants. At the initial processing, we were stripped of our daypacks and valuables and had the contents of our pockets examined. Surprised when they allowed me to take my novel with me, I was later to learn that they don't allow you to take your books out when you leave. It seems to be a major method of acquisition for the prison library. We finally got to bed at around 4.30am.

Through the muddiness of my dreams of men in blue uniforms and the insides of courthouses, there came the rude clanging of a rising bell at a disturbingly early 6.45am. Then began the daily routine, an oppressive mosaic of bells, keys, bars and asphalt that took us to 4.30pm, when we were locked away in our cells for the night. Our cells were arranged in a square formation surrounding a yard about the size of a basketball court. There was not one blade of grass or one tree in sight, a devastating contrast to the rich diversity of the cool temperate rain-forest where we had lived for the previous week. Into that bleak yard we filed each morning and watched the longer-term remandees pace up and down like caged lions. On the first morning we looked on with disbelief. By the third day, we were pacing up and down with them every step of the way.

*So here we are in Risdon Gaol,
What have they done to me?
A cricket pitch without no bail-s,
Cold saveloys for tea.
Risdon Gaol, Risdon Gaol, Risdon Gaol,
I've just agreed to take your rotten bail,
Risdon Gaol,
We're greenies going stale.
— one verse from a blockade song.*

Despite the class differences, the brevity of our stay in prison, and the usual barriers that males put up between one another, quite a rapport was developed between some of the greenies and some of the other inmates. They understood and respected that we had elected to come to prison of our own free will. Like the rest of the population, they were divided in their support for the wild-riders. However, they all enjoyed taunting us every night from their cells, testing out just how much stirring we could cope with. To me, they were sensitive individuals who had grown up in brutal social environments. They had found themselves at the losing end of society and had repeatedly run foul of the law. Now they had to cope with the further brutalizing effects of a penal system which would keep many of them locked up for long periods of their lives. I was constantly astounded that these people could maintain their humour and integrity in an environment that seemed designed to break people and drive them neurotic.

We were allowed to write one letter a day. Paper was supplied, but pens were not. All incoming and outgoing personal letters were read by the prison authorities. One day I accidentally sealed an outgoing letter and handed it to the warden. Half an hour later, he came up to me and said, 'You realize that letter to your parents stands little chance of getting out because you sealed it.' After mentally kicking myself for that mistake, I asked for another letter form so that I could re-

write the letter. I was told that I'd had my chance for that day.

Prison is full of little frustrations like that, petty power trips that the authorities lay on the prisoners. It is so designed to maintain the relationship of dominance and subservience that helps remind prisoners that they are less than human.

The food is another continual reminder. It is hard to produce nutritious meals when you are cooking for three or four hundred, but I doubt if they even try in prison. The vegetables are hopelessly over-boiled, to the stage where they appear as tired and sorry replicas of their former firm and crisp selves. The tea comes in buckets ready loaded with enough sugar to make a dentist's hair stand on end. Not one piece of fresh fruit is ever issued, for the reason that prisoners might ferment it to make alcohol. And the prison dietician is in the awkward position of having to pronounce the meals nutritionally balanced. For someone like myself who views white bread as a bodily punishment in itself, meal times at Risdon weren't much fun.

So there we were, Australia Day 1983, political prisoners in gaol almost 200 years since Australia was founded as a convict settlement. The ironies of the whole situation abounded. The television kept blurting out its insidious message that, 'You can make it in Tasmania'. How on earth can anyone hope to 'make it' in employment while coping with the stigma of being an ex-prisoner? Not only that, what are the real chances of getting a job

in a state with the highest rate of unemployment anyway? The question for me was why would anyone want to 'make it' in a system that continued to perpetrate the kind of lies and destruction involved in the Franklin-below-Gordon Dam scheme?

Perhaps the television itself was part of the punishment for the prisoners by tempting them with untold unattainable goods and fleeting images of women as overtly sexual stereotypes. Furthermore, the question remains whether for the regular prisoners confinement itself is meant to be punishment enough, or whether punishment is meant to be meted out to them in gaol. No matter how society feels about this issue, the day to day reality is that subtle punishment is being administered all the time by the warders just doing their job. Of course for us greenies things were a little different. The warders wanted more and more of us in gaol for increased employment and a stronger wage case. They also knew that people are much more likely to listen to articulate, respectable, middle class people than any old ex-prisoner moaning about prison conditions. Hopefully, the public blind eye that has generally been turned to prison life will be opened as a consequence of the flow through of the blockaders.

The ultimate irony for me was the fact that I was being gaoled for attempting to protect an official World Heritage Area. Imagine the Egyptian government, for instance, gaoling its people for attempting to save the Pyramids from some officially sanctioned destruction. There would be an international outcry. What an incredible comment on our society that people are being gaoled for challenging ludicrously unnecessary 'development' in an area of immense natural beauty. How will our trained non-violent disobedience be viewed by future generations living on this small but beautiful planet? As I told the Magistrate in the Hobart court, Posterity will be the ultimate judge of my action.

ONCE A JOLLY RAFTER

by Paul Cooper

TUNE: Waltzing Matilda

Once a jolly rafter camped by a river bed
Under the shade of a Huon pine tree,
And s/he sang as s/he worked for the saving of the Wilderness,
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me.

CHORUS:

Who'll come a rafting, who'll come a rafting
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me?
And s/he sang as s/he worked for the saving of the Wilderness,
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me?

Down came a dozer to scour all that riverbed
Up jumped the rafter and cried: 'It couldn't be'
And s/he cried as they came to dig up all that riverbed
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me?

CHORUS

Up went the outcry counted in the thousands strong,
Down came the premiers, one, two three?
But the HEC had power to force it through the parliament.
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me?

CHORUS

But they didn't count on the NO DAMS tenacity
We want a river that's alive and free,
Where Wilderness can be felt as you pass along that river strong.
Who'll come a rafting the Franklin with me?

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MORUROA;

the sore that will not heal

FRENCH COLONIALISM IN THE PACIFIC

Since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a total of 238 nuclear bombs have been detonated in the Pacific region.

With the exception of two brief interludes in 1959-61 and 1963, the nuclear powers have been detonating bombs in the Pacific almost every year since Hiroshima. In their haste to develop new nuclear weapons, the nuclear powers have paid scant heed to the health and safety of Pacific people. The deadly harvest of 66 bombs exploded in the Marshalls between 1946 and 1958 took years to appear. Today epidemics of cancer and thyroid tumours plague the islanders, especially those who are most prone to radiation: children and pregnant women.

The cruel aftermath of the 92 bombs France has tested in French Polynesia over the past two decades is only now becoming evident. Radiation is an unforgiving phenomenon. The tests of ten or more years ago may well be forgotten, but the radioactive particles in the tissues of Pacific islanders do not forget — and the human price of these tests must still be paid in the currency of radiation-induced pain, suffering and death.

Ever since General De Gaulle initiated the French Pacific test programme in 1963, successive French governments have reassured Pacific people and the international community that there would be absolutely no harmful effects — but have cynically suppressed all statistics that might verify or disprove their claims. Beginning with the first tests in 1966, the French ceased issuing statistics on cancer and causes of death in the territory and have refused all requests for international monitoring of the health effects of the testing. Even the Mitterrand Socialist government, which made pre-election pledges of greater openness on nuclear matters, has continued this policy of suppression.

'No trace of any radionuclide has been detected in the ocean, or in any ocean living creature (as a result of French underground testing),' said the Minister for Defense, Mr Charles Hernu recently. But instead of permitting the independent scientific monitoring that might verify this claim, the French Government has chosen to embark on a public relations campaign to persuade Pacific governments that the tests are harmless. Yet, if the tests are harmless, what is to be lost by allowing international monitoring?

Health Problems Multiply at Alarming Rate

Over the last twelve months new information has come to light that gives a chilling glimpse into what the French authorities are trying to conceal — the blight of disease and contamination spreading outwards from the Moruroa test site.

Early in 1982, a French journalist, Luis Gonzales-Mata investigated reports of a cancer epidemic in French Polynesia for the highly respected Paris magazine, *Actuel*. Despite official attempts to prevent him from meeting people Gonzales-Mata successfully interviewed Polynesians who had been sent to Paris for cancer treatment and islanders living close to the test site. He discovered that from 2976 onwards the French authorities have been secretly sending large groups of Polynesians on military flights to Paris for treatment of unusual cancers. One of the most recent flight consisted of 50 Polynesians all suffering from brain cancer; they were taken to the Valde-Grace hospital near Paris. A doctor at the hospital told Gonzales-Mata that the Polynesian patients were generally young adults during the period of French atmospheric testing (1966-74).

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Gonzales-Mata succeeded in interviewing 29 of these patients after they returned to Tahiti. Other Polynesians suffering from cancer have privately sought treatment in New Zealand: between 1975 and 1978, the Dunedin Hospital alone treated 67 French Polynesians who had flown there for treatment of cancer. An army doctor working for the French Polynesian government estimates that ten percent of the Polynesian population of the territory has now been sent overseas for treatment: of 98 overseas in 1979, 39 were cancer patients and 40 were children. Visiting island groups close to the Moruroa test site, Gonzales-Mata found abnormally high incidences of ulcers, miscarriages, and stomach troubles amongst Marquesas and Gambier islanders.

While much of the cancer appearing now can be attributed to the deadly fallout from the 41 atmospheric tests which France conducted between 1966 and 1974 — the result of ingestion into the body of radionuclides in contaminated fish, vegetables, air and rainwater used for drinking — there can be little confidence that the continuing underground tests (51 through mid-1982) will prove any less deadly in the long term.

When the storm of international protest by Pacific peoples and governments forced the French to cease atmospheric testing at the end of 1974, the French Government turned to underground testing arguing that this would be perfectly safe. Many people were sufficiently convinced to cease the active protests they mounted in the early seventies.

In Australia and New Zealand, the conservative governments that took office at the end of 1975, while opposing French underground testing, have conspicuously failed to take the same vigorous action taken in the early seventies which included appeals to the International Court of Justice and the sending of naval frigates into the Moruroa test zone. In Australia's case, the Fraser Government's will to resist French testing has been weakened by its wish to sell uranium to France.



French Technicians Expose Accidents

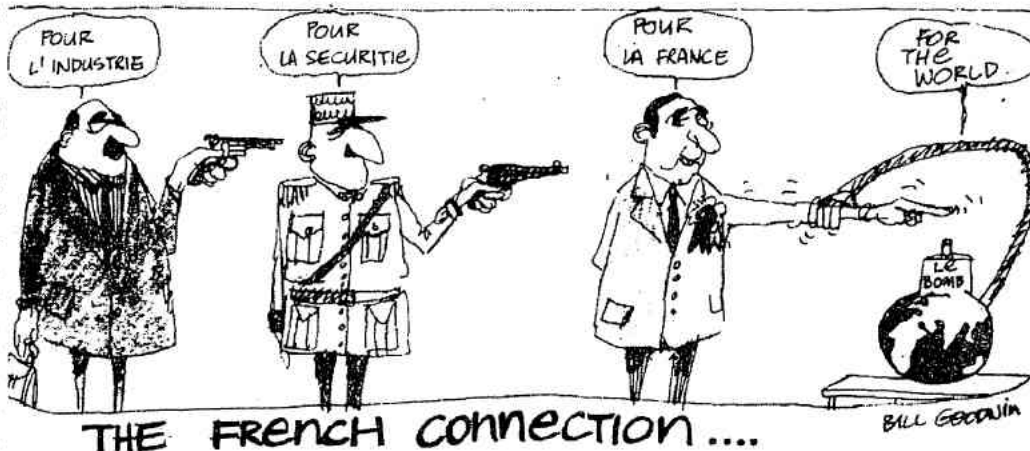
The complacent assumption that French underground testing is relatively safe was shattered, however, in late 1981, when the French and British Press published the findings of an internal report prepared by Atomic Energy Commission engineers and technicians working at Moruroa.

According to the engineers, repeated underground tests at the atoll were causing it to sink 2 centimetres after each test; since underground testing commenced, the atoll had sunk more than 1.5 metres. A second report from the same source said that a 30 centimetre wide, 800 metre long, crack had opened up on the atoll, and that radiation leakage into the ocean had been regularly occurring for years.

Equally disturbing were the details given in the reports of numerous serious accidents at the test site. On July 6, 1979, an explosion caused a fire in an underground laboratory, killing one worker and injuring four others.

The laboratory explosion spewed lethal radioactive plutonium into the surrounding ocean water. On July 25 1979, a large 140 kiloton bomb stuck halfway down the test shaft and was detonated where it had lodged; the resulting explosion registered 6.3 on the Richter scale, creating a localized tidal wave that washed over the atoll, injuring seven people.

On March 22, 1981, a tropical storm ripped off asphalt covering several pounds of deadly plutonium (with a radioactive



half life of 24,000 years) and flooded a 30,000-square metre radioactive waste storage area, washing much of the deadly debris in the sea. Defense Minister Hernu, in a September 1981 speech to the National Assembly, conceded that the March 22 accident had created a 'new radiological situation', but denied that underground testing per se was causing any pollution; the waste washed into the sea was generated by French atmospheric testing, said Hernu, not its underground test programme.

Fish Poisoning Rise Linked to Tests

Further disturbing evidence that the French underground tests are dangerously contaminating the Pacific marine environment and food cycle has come from recent South Pacific Commission (SPC) and World Health Organization reports on the ominous increase in the region of ciguatera, the debilitating fish poisoning disease.

The disease may last for years, and is sometimes fatal. Victims suffer severe muscular and nerve pain, diarrhea and paradoxical sensations (hot water feels cold and vice versa). The disease is caused by eating poisoned fish, which have become contaminated as a result of eating smaller fish feeding around ecologically disturbed coral reefs where the ciguatera microorganism has started proliferating excessively. Experts who have studied the cycle that produces outbreaks of the disease believe that the ecological changes associated with the increases in the ciguatera microorganism may be due both to natural causes (earthquakes, storms) and manmade factors (pollution, shocks). Once part of a coral reef becomes infected with the organism, it tends to spread along the rest of the reef.

According to a SPC study in February 1981, there has been significant 'flare-up of ciguatera' in the Gambier Islands, the closest group to the Moruroa test site. The epidemic was 'preceded by the mass mortality of corals, which were found still dead in most of the grounds'. According to the report, 'human aggression on the living coral environment' is one of the most likely causes of ciguatera in the Gambiers. Although the report did not specify the human aggression of nuclear tests to which it was referring, the most likely candidates seem to be the pollution and seismic shocks emanating from the Moruroa test site.

Anti-French Test Campaign Picks Up

A new movement is beginning to develop amongst Pacific peoples to force the French — and all other nuclear powers — out of the Pacific.

Early in 1982, 1000 Ni-Vanuatu demonstrated outside the French embassy in Vanuatu against continued French testing. Later in the year, two protest yachts, Pacific Peacemaker and Greenpeace III, made separate protest voyages into the Moruroa test zone. Anti-nuclear organiz-

ations in Australia have launched boycott actions against the French airline UTA and French products and services; and further actions are planned at French embassies in early 1983.

But the problem is not confined to French Polynesia. Ocean currents sweep past Moruroa to Fiji, the Cook Islands, Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand. Migratory fish, such as tuna and bonito, may become contaminated with ciguatera toxin in French Polynesia, yet be caught and consumed anywhere in the South Pacific. Already there have been unusual outbreaks of ciguatera in other parts of the South Pacific, including the Queensland coast of Australia.

- Pacific people are demanding:
- Immediate cessation of French nuclear testing in the Pacific;
 - Release of French Polynesian health and cancer statistics;
 - Compensation and adequate medical treatment for all victims of French testing;
 - International monitoring of the health and environmental effects of the testing;
 - A timetable for the granting of independence to French territories in the Pacific.

In a moving speech to the Pacific Trade Union Forum in September 1982 Jean-Marie Tjibau, Vice-President of the New Caledonian Territorial Assembly, warned his audience of trade unionists from all over the Pacific:

'The great ocean that surrounds us carries the seeds of life. We must ensure that they don't become the seeds of death. These matters are our responsibility, and we must face them to live and protect our lives.'

by Michael Hamel-Green



PEACE RALLY

for peace,
disarmament,
and a nuclear-free future

SUNDAY MARCH 27

WAR MEMORIAL, 2pm



Artist Unknown: but whoever it was came in and left this graphic in the Wovoni office has my undying gratitude.

HIROSHIMA EXHIBITION

graphic documentary, in photos and film: not to be missed. what nuclear war is like.

MARCH 12-26, 9am - 5:30pm

Belconnen and Woden Public Libraries

Home On The Range: A Film about U.S. Bases in Australia, 7:30pm, Tuesday, 22nd March

"the film they don't want you to see"

Copland Lecture Theatre.
(A.N.U.)

brought to you by Student Disarmament Group.

The Last Epidemic: a film on the medical dimension of NUCLEAR WAR;

7:30pm, Thursday 24th March Griffin Centre, Civic.

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PEACE PORRIDGE



ANTI-NUCLEAR demo in London

peace pot-pourri?

A nuclear war between the superpowers using only strategic weapons would take about half an hour to complete. The weapons on the submarines off the coast of the United States and the Soviet Union need only 10 minutes to a quarter of an hour to reach their targets. According to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, there are enough weapons to target every town and city with a population of 10,000 people or more. Nuclear reactors are also targeted. Inside each thousand megawatt nuclear reactor there is as much long-lived radiation as would be released by 1000 Hiroshima-sized bombs.

The National Academy of Sciences did a study in 1975 which reported that if the superpowers used only 10 per cent of their nuclear arsenals, that could destroy 50 to 80 per cent of the ozone layer in the northern hemisphere and 30 to 40 per cent in the southern hemisphere because of the nitrous oxide released in the explosions. Some scientists predict that if 80 per cent of the ozone layer (which protects the earth from the ultra-violet radiation of the sun) is destroyed, it could blind every organism on earth, including the insects and bees. This means the death of the ecosphere as we know it. If people stay in the sun for half an hour they will get third degree sunburn, which is lethal, and be blinded. Thus survivors will die of a synergistic combination of acute radiation sickness, sunburn, blindness, starvation, epidemics of disease (as bacteria mutate and multiply in the millions of dead bodies to become more virulent while our immune mechanism is depleted by background radiation). And people will die of grief.

It is predicted that within 30 days after nuclear exchange 90 per cent of American human beings will be dead. As Nikita Khrushchev said years ago, in the event of a nuclear war, the living will envy the dead. President Carter stockpiled huge quantities of opium in case of nuclear war — for euthanasia.

What is the etiology or cause of the present situation, within our terminally ill planet? It's psychiatric. We're doing it. But how did we let it happen? According to Robert Lifton, one of the reasons is that we practise psychic numbing. We block it out. We push it back into our subconscious because we don't like to think about it. If we do accept it emotionally, then it's like having to adjust to a terminal illness. You might die in a year. If you understand this fact emotionally, you enter the stages of grief. First there is shock and disbelief — she must be mad. Anyway, one of her facts is wrong, so I'll discount the lot. The next stage is profound depression, followed by profound anger, followed maybe, eventually, by adjustment. The human being would do anything to avoid those feelings. So we practise psychic numbing.

-Dr Helen Caldicott, in *Confronting the Nuclear Age*.

Consider the present situation. The arms race is an expression of obsolete cultural values. It is an institutionalisation of the ritual 'defence' of inflexible economic and social systems. This 'defence' in fact undermines the economic and social welfare of the citizens on both sides of the arms race. It is in direct conflict with the higher ethical and religious values of the people such as justice, co-operation, and freedom of speech, and, indeed in the nuclear age, threatens the physical survival of the people and their social institutions.

-*Building an Alternative to the War System*, Lianna and Barrie Pittack, *Social Alternatives* March '83.

Thus the arms race is a potentially terminal cancer feeding on the body politic. It multiplies on a basis of distrust, a feeling of individual and national powerlessness, and a reliance on force, coercion, and violence rather than co-operation, agreement, and negotiation to solve problems and achieve social goals. It feeds on and at the same time creates secrecy, lack of communication, fear, insecurity and competition. It must therefore be treated by treating these underlying social conditions at the same time

The possibility of peace, indeed the survival of life, appears even more remote in an increasingly dangerous world. The increased threats to peace were named by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in August 1981.

The Central Committee noted:

... there has been intensification of tension and the emergence of disquieting trends:

- concerned attempts to make acceptable new strategies concerning the feasibility of nuclear war, and tendencies to consider the possibility of a limited nuclear conflict in which victory is assumed to be possible. In particular we are concerned by the development and production in various countries of new dehumanising weapons ...;
- the inability, so far, to reach a positive conclusion to the post-Helsinki talks in Madrid or European security and co-operation reflects a deterioration in East-West relations which constitutes a setback to detente and a further obstacle to disarmament;
- the continuation of violent conflicts (in many areas of the world)
- the worsening economic crisis throughout the world with grave consequences for the poor nations, resulting in tensions within and among nations
- the continuing stalemate of the North-South discussions on global economic issues leading to confrontation and the reduction in aid to developing nations in contrast with the scandalous expenditures on the arms race.

-*One World Week, Newsletter 1/1982*.

Chemical and cluster bombs

In its savage bombing of south Lebanon, Israel has admitted using US-supplied cluster bombs, an antipersonnel weapon. Each bomb shell contains 88 grenades, which explode over an area 400 feet wide. The use of cluster bombs is one factor in the high number of civilian casualties, since the bombs are useful only against unprotected personnel. Victims of these bombs require up to five doctors to operate on just one person in an effort to remove the numerous pieces of shrapnel. Such casualties have a 50 per cent mortality rate, and many survivors have had limbs amputated because of serious bone damage caused by the high speed splinters.

- *Free Palestine, July/August '82*.

While, no doubt, there is still much that is kept secret, sufficient information about the functions of the U.S. installations has been uncovered to lead the Australian Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence to declare in its November 1981 report *Threats to Australia's Security: Their Nature and Probability* that "It should be understood that it is the presence of the joint facilities and the role they could be called upon to play in the event of war between the superpowers that provides the risk of nuclear attack".

-*Trident fact-sheet, Pacific Peacemaker*.

Beirut civilians massacred

As the bombing and shelling pounded the southern reaches of the city and steadily inched northward into the densely packed downtown area, the civilians crowded together into smaller and smaller spaces. Casualties correspondingly increased at a geometric rate, with a single aerial bomb sometimes claiming up to 300 dead and injured as whole apartment buildings collapsed.

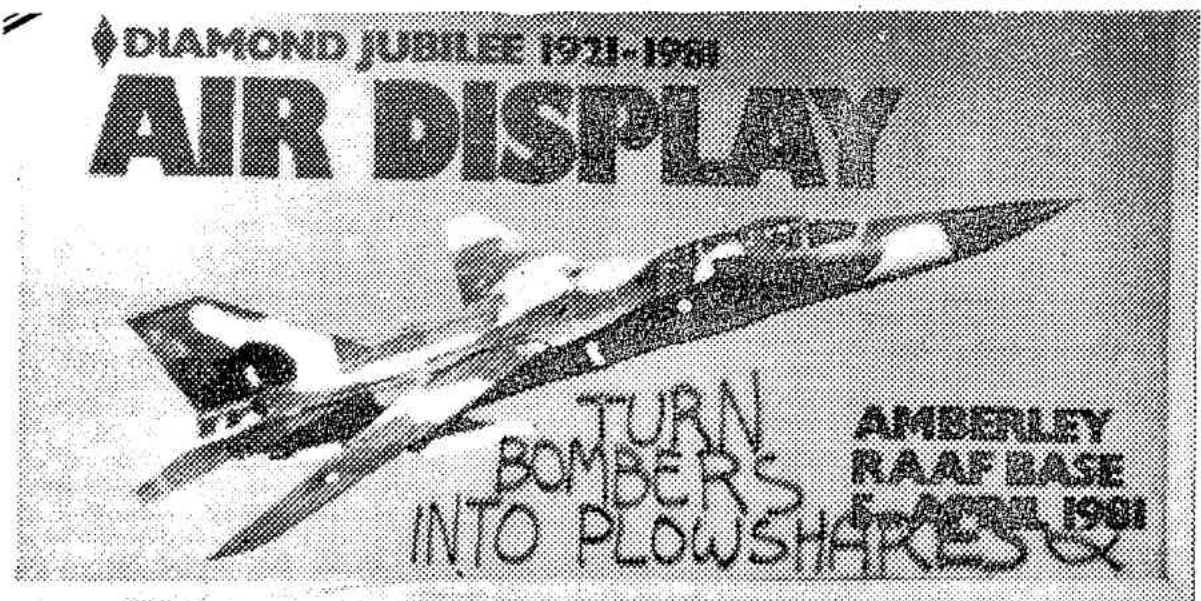
- *Free Palestine, July/August '82*.

'give us bread but give us roses'

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"Only madmen and lunatics can now call for another world war: As for the men of sound mind...they cannot but be aware of the fatal consequences of another war."

Nikita Khrushchev



In 1967, Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara spelled it out quite clearly. He stated that the destruction of one fifth to one quarter of the Soviet Union's population and one half to one third of its industrial capacity would mean its elimination as a major power.⁽¹⁾ This could be accomplished by hitting the top 100 Russian cities. These types of targets — populated cities and industrial targets — are vulnerable to missiles which do not need to be very powerful or particularly accurate. It is estimated that allowing for repairs, misfires, Soviet defences and a hypothetical Chinese threat, 400 U.S. warheads would do the job. This number of warheads is to be found on only three of the 31 current U.S. Poseidon missile submarines or one of the new Tridents coming into service.

-*Trident fact-sheet, Pacific Peacemaker*.

things to think about

you can think about them till the Peace Rally on March 27th, 2pm at the War Memorial; you can think about them for the rest of your life.

New Technical Developments

The Trident class submarine at 171 metres long and 18,700 tonnes is comparable in size to the aircraft carrier *HMAS Melbourne*, an enormous size for a submarine. Its larger size (twice that of the US Navy's Poseidon class presently in use) will enable it to carry 24 missiles (50% more than Poseidon). Its size and efficiency of design and its special navigational systems allow it a longer submergence period in over five times as much ocean as the Poseidon. This, along with an unmatched degree of silence in operation, is thought to make the new submarine virtually invulnerable — a feature with implications for Australia which we will discuss shortly.

The most significant development of the Trident system, however, is not the submarine itself, but the Trident missile. The Trident 1 missile has a vastly increased range: 7500 kilometres as compared to the older Poseidon missile's 4600 kilometres. Each Trident 1 missile is designed to carry eight 100 kiloton warheads as compared to Poseidon's ten 40 kiloton bombs. With a smaller number of warheads even greater ranges are possible. The very long range of the Trident 1 missiles enables US SLBM submarines to operate in a much greater ocean area while remaining within range of their targets. The eight warheads on each missile are what is known as MIRVs (Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicles) and each warhead can be programmed for a separate target. At 100 kilotons, each warhead is over six times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Experts consider this high explosive yield essential for targets of the counterforce strategy: missile silos with hardened protective shields.

An even more ominous feature of the new Trident 1 missile is its accuracy. The accuracy of missiles is expressed as Circular Error Probability or CEP. The Poseidon missile has a CEP of 560 metres — accurate enough for the cities and industrial centres targeted under the policy of deterrence. The Trident 1 missile is to achieve a CEP of 180 metres — accurate enough for counterforce.⁽⁵⁾ For the first time, with the Trident, a SLBM can be used successfully against the small target of a hardened missile silo. With the land-based ICBM MX system also being developed for a similar degree of accuracy, a first-strike technology is now in existence. (See Table 1)

The Trident 1 missile, however is an interim weapon, the precursor to one with even greater counterforce capability: the Trident 2 missile. The Trident 2, now being developed, is to have a CEP of only 27 metres. Its range will be extended to 10,000 kilometres. It will have the capacity to carry up to 17 warheads, each of 75 kilotons — less powerful because they are more accurate. As each Trident submarine will carry 24 Trident 2 missiles, this will mean that one submarine can be equipped with 408 individually targeted bombs. Not only that, the new missiles will be MARVED (Manoeuvred Re-entry Vehicles); that is, they can be manoeuvred once they re-enter the atmosphere to avoid defending missiles and to adjust their flight path to achieve final accuracy. It is estimated that each of these new warheads will have an 80% probability of destroying its target — much higher than other warheads.

But how will these weapons locate their targets? What systems will be needed for navigation, reception and transmission of firing orders, updating of warhead flight information and communications? And with the submarines themselves so invulnerable, the new missiles so accurate, will these essential back-up systems become a target? With the deployment of the Trident, these questions take on a new urgency for Australia. — *Trident Fact-sheet, Pacific Peacemaker.*

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in a final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labours, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of war, it is humanity hanging on a cross of iron."

President Eisenhower in a 1953 speech

The image of the US as a 'pitiful, helpless giant' has to be purged. Hence the creation of the interventionary Rapid Deployment Force (see glossary); hence the strengthening of relations with virulently anti-Soviet South Africa and repressive ultra-right regimes in Latin America and elsewhere; hence the determination to demonstrate US resolve in situations like El Salvador.

The bogey of the Soviet threat thus justifies the transfers of aid, arms and the technologies of repression to many of the most brutal dictatorships in the Third World.

However, since America's hegemonic power in world politics has declined the US cannot control the Third World as it once could. America's allies are increasingly reluctant to aid and abet Washington's counter-revolutionary adventures in the Third World — even Australia has refused to join the Rapid Deployment Force. Today the US cannot afford either the economic or domestic political costs of massive interventions like that in Vietnam.

In this context resort to so-called Limited Nuclear Options in Third World conflicts becomes a logical, if somewhat desperate, contingency strategy. In contrast to the Vietnam era the US now has precision theatre nuclear weapons and a limited nuclear strike doctrine which rationalises their use. In March 1980, General R.H. Ellis of Strategic Air Command revealed that the US already had contingency plans for limited nuclear strikes against Soviet military facilities near Iran in response to Soviet conventional military activity in the Gulf region. The whole thrust of recent US strategic doctrine has been to make nuclear war-fighting less thinkable — *more usable* and hence, according to many critics, more probable.

— *Peace Dossier 3, Andrew Mack, Victorian Association for Peace Studies.*

ALGERIAN GENERALS' REVOLT 1961

Until 1962, Algeria was a colony of France. Beginning in 1957, an armed independence struggle was waged by Algerian nationalists against French military forces. By 1961, moves were under way by the French government, led by de Gaulle, to grant independence to Algeria.

Leading sections of the French military in Algeria, who were strongly opposed to Algerian independence, staged a coup on 21-22 April 1961 in the city of Algiers. It was rumoured that there would be an invasion of France by the French military leaders in Algeria in order to topple the French government and institute a strict colonialist policy.

The population in France demonstrated its solidarity against such an invasion. French airports were shut down, trade with Algeria ceased and a one-hour strike was held by ten million workers. Dissident elements within the army in Algeria performed noncooperative acts, largely by adopting an attitude of mock incapability.

After four days the coup disintegrated. Large-scale violence was avoided and thus many lives saved. It was largely the force of community resistance which deterred the threatened invasion of France and caused the collapse of the short-lived Algerian Generals' regime.

— *Social Defence,*

Canberra Peacemakers.



WHY IS SOCIAL DEFENCE NEEDED IN AUSTRALIA?

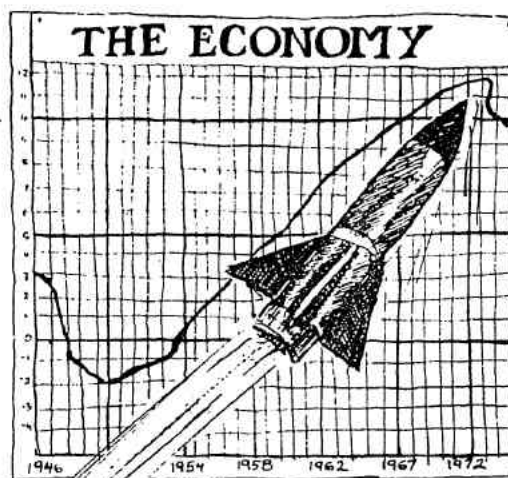
Social defence is not limited to resistance to a full scale invasion. It can be used to preserve threatened civil rights. Although military invasion or military takeover in Australia are unlikely, any of the following could well occur.

(a) A political coup which the military does not oppose (as in 1975), but in which elections or parliament are suspended indefinitely. Social defence could be used to support demands for a return to democratic principles.

(b) Acts of violence (such as the Hilton bombing) which provide an excuse for police or military powers to be expanded. Social defence could be used to preserve rights such as no arrest without trial, the right to march and congregate in public places, and freedom of speech.

(c) Declaration of a state of emergency following an attack on a military installation such as Pine Gap. Such a state of emergency could be used as a pretext for suspending civil rights and gaoling 'dissidents'. Social defence could be used to challenge government or military control.

— *Social Defence, Canberra Peacemakers*



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The U.S. First Strike

"U.S. and NATO strategy allows for a possible NATO first use of nuclear weapons, if that should prove essential."

Secretary of Defense
Harold Brown,
Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1980

"... the policy of the United States has never been entirely to forswear first strike. The Soviets should be left with at least an uncertainty in their mind as to what is the real possibility — that if the United States is driven hard enough, in various unspecified ways we would indeed respond. That clearly must be the U.S. policy, not to clearly forswear."

General Lew Allen,
U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff,
during hearings of Senate
Armed Services Committee on
the Fiscal Year 1980 military budget

The same month, the editorial of the Belgrade Youth Federation journal said, "... the revolutionary role of Yugoslav students, in our opinion, lies in their engagement to deal with general social problems and contradictions (among which the problems and contradictions of the social and material situation of students are included). Special student problems, no matter how drastic, cannot be solved in isolation, separate from the general social problems: the material situation of students cannot be separated from the economic situation of the society; student self-government cannot be separated from the social problems of self-government; the situation of the University from the situation of society. ..." (*Susret*, May 15, 1968).

— *Revolt in Socialist Yugoslavia, Black and Red.*

Take the Toys

from the Boys



One excuse that has always been given by the U.S. for continued military development and spending is the need to "catch up" to a supposed Soviet lead. This rationale is belied by the facts. The history of the nuclear arms race has largely been one of U.S. initiative followed by Soviet reaction. Technologically, the U.S. has led with such crucial developments as the first atomic explosion (U.S. 1945, USSR 1949); the first hydrogen explosion (U.S. 1948, USSR 1955); the testing of MIRVED warheads (U.S. 1968, USSR 1973) and the introduction of the Trident submarine.⁽¹²⁾ Similarly, in nuclear weapons deployment, there has generally been a swing between U.S. lead and US-USSR parity, despite U.S. allegations. According to information supplied by independent defence analysts, the U.S. is now set to increase its lead, both in terms of technology and in numbers of warheads (see Tables 1 and 2) to a point which would bankrupt the Soviet Union to equal.

The new technology, the increased military spending, the refusal of the U.S. Congress to ratify the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II), the talk of "winning" a nuclear war — all suggest that a new and more dangerous round of the arms race is being launched. To attribute a stabilising, defensive role to the U.S. Installations in Australia under these circumstances is to distort reality and court destruction.

— *Trident Fact-sheet, Pacific Peacemaker.*

MEN & FEMINISM

Does that title seem strange to you? Persevere.

Sexism covers a whole lot of different things, right? It's more than discrimination in employment, and it's more than treating women as sex-objects (although both of these are very important). It's different things for different people. So too, 'Feminism' means different things to different people. One tendency amongst men is illustrated by Ian Rout's description in the Orientation Handbook of 'the inevitable noisy seccateur-swinging radical feminists whose zeal in removing any material liable to excite young males from reach makes Mary Whitehouse seem like Linda Lovelace'. One way men can relate to feminism is to feel threatened by it, to laugh at it, to trivialise it. Ian Rout sees feminists as *puritanical*. This puritanism and extremity is placed in opposition to a 'liberated' sexuality represented by Linda Lovelace: who was exploited, against her will, misrepresented, beaten, and tortured, by her manager, as we know since her conversion to Christianity. Males ('young' males) are innocent and harmless, fulfilling biological imperatives, just excitable boys. Feminists are noisy, i.e. don't know their place. The violence so often associated with 'liberated' sex is displaced onto the feminists, who threaten, somehow, men like Ian Rout. The association of feminists and puritanism blurs over the fact that Mary Whitehouse and the Festival of Light etc. are anti-women and as a consequence vehemently anti-feminist: their 'authentic' puritanism cannot tolerate feminism's championing of women's own needs, desires and pleasures. Realising that feminists are by no means anti-fun or anti-sex, however, entails comprehending that feminism involves a selective *critique*, and that everyday hetero sex is by no means 'just good clean fun'. Those who laugh at feminism are protecting themselves because they don't want to confront the awesome realities of *power*, right through all our lives, and because that *power* benefits them. Feminism names, exposes and contests the systematic oppression of women. One way men can relate to feminism is to fight it, to hold onto the power the patriarchy gives them access to, and to deny that they're doing any such thing. And this tendency goes beyond laughter, to violent and stupid abuse/threats, cf 'she just needs a good fuck'.

But there are *other* ways men can relate to feminism. This article is addressed to men who are opposed to sexism, interested in and supportive of feminism: which is not such an 'illogical' position really. Let's consider a statement such as 'men have power over women'. It doesn't necessarily follow that all men like it that way. Firstly, as a huge generalisation, it crosses over the *contradictions* within the group 'men' (since we're not talking conspiracy theory, like, all-the-men-in-the-world-get-together-and-plan-how-they're-going-to-hold-onto-power). So, in fact, patriarchy severely oppresses male homosexuals, denying their existence, and hating and fearing them, repressing sexuality in males towards the invocation of a razor-edged and desperately self-assuring/demonstrating/citing heterosexuality, which has many costs. It's in this line that patriarchy oppresses 'sissies', i.e. eliminates our gentleness and emotional openness.

Secondly, libertarian philosophy, and a sensibility of equality and mutuality, can permit us to understand what is wrong with power, what it does to us, how it corrupts us, how unhealthy our relationships are, when they're all tied up with power. The satisfaction that can come from attempts to give away power,

to cherish and respect the autonomy of others, could be worth a lot of pain and protracted struggles, with one's self and with one's conditioning.



Some men have fun together.

Thirdly, men might desire something more human than brutishness: while men are not *oppressed* by sexism in the same way as women, they are *alienated* from themselves by its stereotypes. The fight against sexism, then, could offer the satisfactions attendant on a fuller emotionality (when one takes responsibility for one's own feelings, and is less afraid of vulnerability), a non-dominating approach to sexuality, and child-rearing.

And fourthly, there need not actually be anything in it for men: after all, there is more to life than self-interest!! Maybe it's just a matter of justice, freedom, and fairness: words that get used pretty freely, I admit. But this means, say, on a very day-to-day level (which is still about as important as you can get) *male dominance of conversation* (over coffee in the ref, in tutes, etc. etc.). Might mention here the competition amongst males for dominance, too: patriarchy is divisive and competitive and thereby unproductive. There are other important day-to-day matters of justice, such as, who does the domestic work?

Fifthly, on a slightly different basis of 'disinterested' support, for those of us who are interested in theorising society, or just trying to make sense of it, there's the fact that feminism (as an anti-power theory, variously the authenticated reproach to or dismantling of the philosophies of dominance - i.e. founded in experiences not represented and not accounted for in patriarchal ideology, and simultaneously being able to account for the patriarchy in a way which dialectically transcends its self-consciousness (am I turning into a Hegelian - naughty university student in-joke folks - and I apologise for this unmanageable sentence) gives a much better account of the world: more lucid, systematic, refined, morally and epistemologically sophisticated. As a praxis-based philosophy of the oppressed it goes straight for the blind-spots, distortions and contradictions of patriarchal philosophies, be they fascism, free-marketeteering, or a generally sympathetic but too often gender-blind marxism. So there are advantages for men in reading groups on feminism, in understanding society and ourselves, and thereby being better able to deal with 'reality'.

Geez, this article's bloody long eh: and I've got heaps to go. Again, persevere.

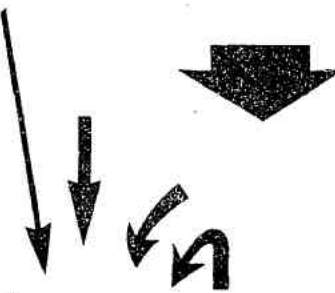
Questions now are, how might men who are supportive of feminism feel about themselves? And what can we do to change ourselves, and to change society? First off we might feel guilty, when we wake up to what's been going on, when we find ourselves doing bad things. It is possible to freak out on guilt, to a state of paralysis. However guilt is not inappropriate, even if it is sometimes unproductive. It can release a vast amount of energy, and dedication

to the strenuous efforts so often required by the project of confronting and overcoming one's own sexism. Or we could say, ah but society's to blame, I'm a product of socialisation. This is partly true but often a pathetic cop-out. Or we can say, I'm a victim too, having to struggle to match those strong-resourceful-independent-and-heaps-of-machismo images; men aren't allowed to cry, I'm oppressed too. Which is again partly true but often a cop-out. The 'answer' is probably just an unending fight against all sorts of *complacency*. A lot of *critical* self-consciousness is called for: and we have to learn to accept ourselves, at the same time, so we don't get disheartened. so we keep trying. in fact, in all this effort and vigilance, *we need each other*. We need support, each other's insights, to share experiences, to learn to trust. There are good reasons why men can't be lead through feminism by women, i.e. general invariability of mixed-sex discussion when there is *not* 'common experience' across genders, across that abyss of power, and *anyway* the fact that feminists have got better things to do, i.e. work with their sisters in women-only contexts where they can realise their own strength without wasting energy resisting 'masculine' habits. So We Need A Men's Group.



Some men have fun together.

Such a group could do a vast variety of different things, i.e. whatever we want. We could work on ourselves, we could work on reaching other men, we could support (from our own perspectives) campaigns of the women's movement, we could just have fun (picnics, dancing, dinner-parties, games etc.). Whatever we want. Who is we: whoever turns up to the meetings. In 1980 there was a Men's Consciousness-Raising Group at ANU, formed in response to a predominantly anti-feminist group called Blokes on Campus. The Men's CR Group involved two personal discussion collectives, a reading group, a media collective, posters, picnics, a regular radio-program, 'Woroni' articles, cake-stalls, and a weekend workshop. At the end of the year it changed its name to Men Against Sexism and disappeared (or did it go under the surface, in all its different directions).



Anyway: if you are male and supportive of feminism and want to do something about it, there'll be a meeting on Wednesday the 16th of March at 1pm, in the Counselling Centre (which is on the first floor, over the Health Centre, at the other end of the Bridge from the Union building: the meeting's there 'cause there's a large comfortable space). If you want to find out more information, you can ask at the Students' Association Office (which is a very pleasant place on the first floor of the Union Building).

Alex Anderson

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Some men have fun together.

Women On Campus: Wednesday 16th of March, 1pm,
Men and Feminism: Wednesday 16th of March, 1pm,

Guys On Campus: Tuesday 15th of March, 1pm, Counselling Centre
Women's Room (first floor of the Union building)
Counselling Centre

INTERNATIONAL

from Community Aid Abroad
Southern Africa Newsletter.

In theory, apartheid aims to allow the White minority to live physically separated from the Black majority. In practice, apartheid is the most tyrannical set of labour controls ever used in modern industry. By controlling all aspects of Black lives, i.e. where they live, where they work and under what conditions, and by maintaining vast Black unemployment the South African government has created a powerless, vulnerable, disenfranchised Black working class which is ruthlessly exploited to produce wealth and comfort for the country's Whites. Within this system Black women fare even worse than Black men. One of the few types of work to which the labour authorities will assign them is domestic work. The alternative is a life of extreme poverty in an isolated bantustan.

South Africa's one million domestic workers fall into three categories.

1. legal residents of Black townships who travel to the White suburbs to work.
2. live-in servants who come to White households from townships and bantustans.
3. illegal workers who have fled the poverty of the bantustans to come to work illegally in the cities. They live in the townships or in squatter camps outside the townships. Some of them manage to establish some semblance of family life with their migrant worker husbands.

Domestic workers from this last category live a precarious existence as they are continuously harassed by the police. Frequently government bulldozers have been brought in to flatten their homes and force them back to the bantustans. (The recent events at Crossroads which prompted international outrage are an example of this harassment.)

Maids and Madams, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg), Jacklyn Cock's survey of domestic workers in the Eastern Cape, shows that the average wage is \$6 for a 60 hour week. Leave entitlement is one week per year and is taken at the employer's whim. Domestic servants have no collective bargaining power, no job security, no unemployment pay, no regular pay increases, no medical aid and no pension. Live-in servants exist, isolated from family and friends, in bare, cramped rooms at the back of the white employer's homes. In some cases they are on call to all hours of the night and some of them work an 80 hour week.

Live-in servants are, by law, prevented from having their children live with them. Children have to be cared for by family or friends, in the bantustans or townships. Many domestic workers are 'nannies' and come to care for white children knowing that their own children are left unsupervised for long hours.

After working a 60-80 hour week and often caring for their own families as well, domestic workers have neither the

time or energy for social activities. Jacklyn Cock cites the example of a middle-aged woman's fear that her church could refuse to bury her unless she attends church more often. This she cannot do as she is only given one Sunday off in a month. Her employer is one of the most respected members of white Grahams-town society and high in the Anglican church hierarchy.

It has been calculated that the least amount of money required for a family barely to survive is now about \$50 per week (Note: South Africa's cost of living and White workers' wages are roughly equivalent to the Australian cost of living and Australian workers' wages). On average domestic workers have four dependants so survival is precarious. One way in which employers provide some relief is through the practice of 'payment-in-kind'. The way the system works is that a clearly inadequate wage is paid. That alone is the worker's right. Payments-in-kind e.g. a uniform, food, second-hand clothes, children's school fees, are made at the employer's discretion provided the service given is judged to be satisfactory. The employer feels benevolent and magnanimous; the servant hides her feelings behind a mask of deference and earns her incremental wage by sycophancy. When payment-in-kind includes payment of school fees, the employer gains the right to decide when the domestic worker's children should leave

school (usually very young). Employers commonly take control when workers fall foul of the pass laws as all Blacks do, sooner or later. Gradually the worker is forced to accept the status of an irresponsible child.

When sympathetically interviewed the domestic workers in Jacklyn Cock's sample expressed clearly their frustration at the daily experience of the difference between their own standard of living and that of their employers. They bitterly resent their inferior status both as Blacks and as women. They are not confused or deferential, they are merely trapped. In this respect they contrast strongly with the white women who live their lives in a web of justifications and face-saving lies.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 was led by the school-going sons and daughters of Black workers. The spark which ignited the revolt was the gross inequity of an education system which spends \$800 p.a. on each White child and \$52 p.a. on each Black child. It would be wrong, however, to regard the causes of the Soweto uprising as educational. Rather it was caused by the very conditions of life where everything is unequal, not only education. Black children were all too aware of the constant harassment and humiliation of their parents who laboured in the White homes and factories. Unwilling to face this future themselves they confronted the authorities in peaceful protests. They were mowed down with bullets.

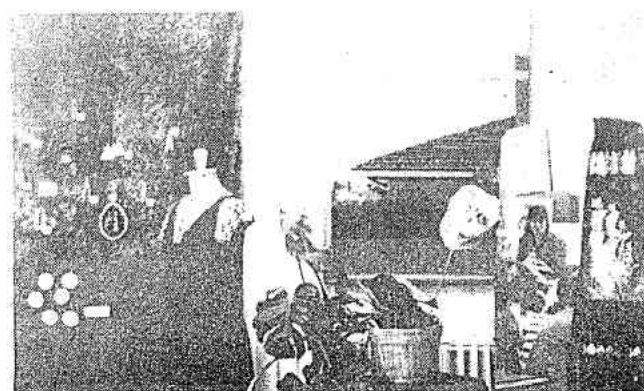
Many student leaders from 1976 onwards have fled the country to escape imprisonment. They have gone to training campus of the exiled liberation movements in order to equip themselves with skills which would enable them to return to their country and help to release their parents and their people from oppression.



WOMEN'S



Robyn in a performance of "Public Speaking" at the Womens Salon



from the Womens Salon "Clost Art Event" Gorman House, Sunday March 6

DAY

photos by Helen

International Women's Day Rally, Garena Place, Civic, March 5



CPA CPA CPA CPA CPA CPA CPA

Australia, with its great natural wealth, its developed economy and its skilled workforce, could provide a full life for all its people and help to end suffering everywhere. It could do this while conserving the earth's resources for future generations.

But the capitalist system stands in the way. It is a system run for the private profit of a small owning class and is also male-dominated and racist.

Moreover, this system is in the midst of a chronic crisis which the ruling class cannot solve and which their policies only make more destructive.

Glaring social inequalities confront us. Australia's Gross Domestic Product is \$6,000 per head of population, but over two million are officially classed as poor and existing standards are being forced down. Improvements in the lot of ordinary people are usually opposed by establishment forces and won only through hard struggle.

The deep-rooted problems we face cannot be overcome by small reforms. Their solution requires radical changes in the existing structures, social ideas and practices.

More and more people are beginning to ask: Can our present social order cope with technological change and the 'computer holocaust'? Can it provide work for young people now facing a jobless and empty future? Can it liberate women? Can it end racial and sexual discrimination? Has it any answers for the looming energy and environmental crises? Will it outlaw nuclear weapons and war? Can it plan for the future to meet these social needs? Can it grasp the opportunity for advancing to a new society where the aim will be the development of all-round human abilities and self-expression? Can it expand democracy so that people can control their own lives, or will it go on its authoritarian way with control from the top by the wealthy, the powerful, bureaucrats, the owners and controllers of society?

The Communist Party of Australia believes that these great problems require the establishment of a new socialist society based on social need instead of private profit, a socialism which is democratic and self-managed, where power is exercised by working people in workplaces and communities. This new society will combat and finally remove oppression of all kinds.

Such a society can come about, we believe, through struggles for democratic transformation of all spheres of life — workplace, community, family, political.

For generations, socialism has provided the hope of ordinary working people for such a society. But the unexpected development, strength and flexibility of capitalism, the strength and influence of reformism in the Australian labour movement, and the mistakes and disunity of the socialist movement which were compounded by negative features in various countries that took the socialist road, have so far frustrated those hopes.

Students and Socialism

With the development of capitalism, education has become increasingly important for training new workers, specialists, professionals, managers and ruling agents. On the average, people spend much more time as students in a particularly formative period of their lives.

Students do not form or belong to a class; they come from all classes and have destinations to all classes. Students also experience common situations. These, in some cases, lead many to adopt militant, progressive or radical positions. In other cases, pressure to conform and concentrate on the goal of a relatively privileged job lead to acceptance and support of the system.

Primary and secondary students come mainly from the working class and most will become workers. Students suffer from authoritarian relations in the schools, and from an education designed more to make them accept their roles as 'cogs in the machine' than to develop all their talents.

Therefore the nature of education should be changed and democracy in schools should be extended, giving students more say in their own education.

Tertiary students were once a tiny, privileged minority from the capitalist class and strata close to it. Now, though these are still important, the majority come from the new intermediate strata, the intellectually-trained workers and, to a lesser extent, the working class.

Before World War II, a degree gave the expectation of high income and status. Now, most students train for teaching, scientific and technical work, administration, public service, social work, the media and lower echelons of the professions. The character of these occupations has changed under advanced capitalism. Relatively small professional elites have been largely replaced by workforces tens of thousands strong, many of whose conditions and interests have shifted towards those of other workers.

This change, and the special effects of the crisis on these sections, have had important political results in the tertiary institutions.



Moreover, many tertiary students, like secondary schools leavers, now face the menace of unemployment.

For these reasons, and because of the key positions many will occupy, tertiary students have a new importance as a social force.

Already students have struggled against the way education is shaped by ruling class needs and against cuts in education expenditure. They have struggled for greater educational democracy and reform of curricula and teaching methods. Tertiary students also play an important part in various social movements, supplying many of their activists and leaders.

Other Social Forces and Movements

Capitalism not only exploits people at work. It impinges on every aspect of their lives. Thus people often enter into struggle in their communities and in their leisure activities. Movements and groupings develop which may not belong directly to a class (students for example), or may embrace people from different classes and strata (for example, Black, national, women's, youth, environmental, democratic rights, peace and solidarity movements).

Though the organised church is usually conservative, upholding the present social order, many religious people are concerned about social problems, adopting progressive and even revolutionary positions. These people are an essential part of any broad alliance.

What the Communist Party is Trying to Do

The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) is independent of any foreign political movement, nevertheless the CPA has visits and exchanges views with as many socialist and communist parties as possible right across the globe. What the CPA aims to do is to replace capitalism with a needed, morally superior and more peaceful socio-economic system that we understand as eventually being communism.

However to dispense with any unnecessary misconceptions it should be made clear at the outset that the idea of communism suitable for Australian conditions is not expressed by any of the various forms of socialism existing in other countries. Socialism is quite different from communism which it precedes. It appears to us that communism does not yet exist as a national system anywhere in the world.

One cannot expect a society to quickly develop into communism but when capitalism starts to become inoperable society should expect to have the possibility of transforming itself into a self-managed socialist society. Such a change is not unusual as it has already occurred when feudalism was transformed into early capitalism.

No doubt the old feudal lords and aristocracy claimed that society could not transform itself into anything else, but it had to happen. A similar transformation is on the cards today. We can expect the elements of capitalism to deny this possibility because they would deny anything to keep their profitability. Through callously allowing unemployment to soar they in effect deny the needs of humanity and of Australian families. However, thankfully, we do not have to leave the fate of society in the hands of a minority of capitalists — it is not up to them.

The fatal flaw of capitalism is that it attempts to place the interests of the few over the interests of the masses. This it is able to do only while there is sufficient economic growth and truly this has been the case for approximately 200 years, a short time in world history. But the last decade has shown just how contingent this state of affairs has been.

Australia has relied on its trade for its economic growth i.e. on the economic fortune of; UK, USA and Japan. Large profits were thus obtained and the Australian living standard rose quite quickly. But now we find capitalism has led us into stagnation and disintegration because we are unable to compete as capitalists for foreign markets and resources. The ideas of capitalism are forcing Australia to close down its vital industries — its shipbuilding, its manufacturing and its steel industry. Many workers consequently face immediate poverty with no way out.

The short reason for this is that other capitalist nations are far bigger than we are and in seeking their own profits destroy our needed independence and economic infrastructure. Australia has in the past quite logically aligned itself with the capitalist west and allowed the big western powers to lead us where they liked. This resulted in substantial economic growth but now circumstances have changed — capitalism is ruining us all at an alarming pace.

It is obviously becoming necessary for society to start to develop all the forces at its disposal to give concrete expression of the majority need for self-managed socialism. Capitalism is saying that work must go, society must say that capitalism must go.

We don't seek to build an alternative to capitalism just because it is immoral etc., rather only as capitalism goes into its death throes do we seek to overthrow it for socialism. We seek to build an alternative economic system because the capitalist economic system directly threatens the living standards of the majority and is taking the whole country down the drain.

This can be done. A central role has to be played by the trade unions as they only can claim to represent the majority but they cannot overthrow capitalism even when it is in crisis. What we need is a broad alliance that includes workers and the participation of the social movements such as the women's movement, the environmental movement and the unemployed. These movements must also realise that their aims are attainable only if they are united with a stronger, more aware, trade union movement. This is if they are united with a stronger, more aware, trade union movement. This is what the Communist Party is seeking to develop; it seeks to give political power to such an organisation of the majority of Australians. The CPA does not seek government itself but seeks to do everything to get this process going.

These concerns are further developed in the CPA publications; 'Towards Socialism in Australia', 'The Workers Movement', and 'Women and Social Liberation'. Available from Chris Warren of Toad Hall and from Left Bookstalls on campus and in Civic.

Following are some excerpts from the CPA policy document 'Towards Socialism in Australia'. It was adopted at the 26th National Congress of the CPA in June 1979. Although slightly dated now, four years later, and being in no way comprehensive, it does give some idea of what the CPA sees is wrong with Australian society as it currently is and gives a glimpse of the society that could be in a Socialist Australia. I have specifically included a comparatively large section on students due to its obvious relevance to this paper. If you would like to obtain the full document that these excerpts are from, or more specific CPA policy documents on issues such as Women and Social Liberation, Migrant Workers and Ethnic Minorities, and the Workers' Movement, they can be obtained from the CPA Stall during O-Week. Please also note that I have not included material relating to women's issues as this will be the subject of a lengthier article next Woroni.

M. Storey

FOR SALE

Bicycle: Med. siz. men's frame, 10-speed. Reasonable condition \$75. Contact: Harriet Grahame, N29. Bruce Hall.

Radio Cassette Recorder (stereo) Philips, six months old. Gd. cond. cost \$149, sell \$60 ono. Phone: Lyn 43 3248 (w)

NOAM CHOMSKY

Israel's Invasion and the Disarmament Movement

Abridged from an article appearing in *MERIP Reports*, September-October 1982



Beirut during Israeli bombardment in mid 1982. Israel's attack on Lebanon resulted in 19,000 dead and 31,000 injured.

On June 12, 1982, over half a million people demonstrated in New York, calling for a halt to the nuclear arms race. The demonstration was unusual in its size, and even more so in the favorable media coverage it received. About the same time, a few thousand people in scattered cities throughout the country actively protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the barely disguised US government support for it. A strong case can be made that the latter actions constituted the more direct and appropriate response to the very real danger of nuclear war.

It is clear enough that existing arsenals pose an enormous hazard and that the new weapons systems now being planned or deployed bring the world closer to nuclear war. Efforts to reverse the escalation in the capacity for nuclear destruction are imperative, but they are secondary to the need to identify and eliminate the most probable causes of a nuclear conflict. Any direct military conflict between the superpowers is likely to escalate quickly to nuclear conflict. Even if their nuclear arsenals were sharply reduced, they would remain capable of devastating nuclear strikes. The primary concern of those who hope to reduce the likelihood of a nuclear holocaust must be to settle, or at least limit, the conflicts and tensions that threaten to involve the superpowers.

The likelihood of such conflict in Europe today is very slight. In many parts of the Third World, however, regional conflicts or outside intervention threaten to engage the superpowers. The most threatening examples are those of the Middle East. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon provides an illuminating case study. It falls only a few steps short of engaging the superpowers, thus raising considerably the possibility of nuclear war. This danger has by no means passed. An Israeli attack on Syria proper could well lead to Russian moves in support of their ally. Even the hint of such a response would bring in the United States in force. Recall the October 1973 strategic nuclear alert, when it appeared that the USSR might undertake some action to enforce the ceasefire in Egypt.

To consider another possible scenario, the Israeli invasion may firm up Syria's alliance with Iran. The spread of the conflict to Syria could drive Iran closer to the USSR. This would be intolerable to the United States, yet countermeasures might escalate out of control. Here, too, the danger of nuclear war is appreciable. Israel itself is a nuclear power. More than a few prominent Israeli and American analysts have presented the case that Israel should publicly adopt a military strategy of "nuclear deterrence." The primary factor enhancing the danger of nuclear war in

the Middle East, however, is the US political, economic, and military support for Israeli policy in the region, particularly Israel's refusal to accept any meaningful political accommodation with the Palestinians. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was planned on the assumption of such US political and, if necessary, military support.

No Concessions

Since 1973, Israel and the United States have been committed to removing Egypt from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Only after the October War were they willing to accept Sadat's offer, quite explicit as early as February 1971, of a full peace treaty that would turn Egypt into an American client state. Sadat had proposed a settlement on the pre-June 1967 borders in essential agreement with the international consensus and the Rogers Plan that Kissinger had shunted aside. Sadat's 1971 peace offer has virtually disappeared from the approved history of the period, which prefers to see the Egyptian president as a militant Arab who only became a man of peace under the kindly tutelage of his American mentors. Sadat made no mention then of Palestinian rights, allegedly the main source of controversy since Camp David. At that time, the US and Israel assumed that Israel's overwhelming power required no concessions to Egypt. The shock of the 1973 war and its aftermath led to reassessment. Sadat's earlier proposals were accepted, though only in part. Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" and Interim Agreement were designed to exclude Egypt from the conflict while leaving Israel in a position to control the bulk of the occupied territories, in accordance with the ruling Labor government's Allon Plan.¹

During this period, it was necessary to fend off annoying Arab efforts to settle the conflict peaceably, on essentially the terms proposed by Sadat in 1971, but now with the added proviso of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In January 1976, the US vetoed a UN Security Council resolution, introduced and backed by the Arab "confrontation states" and supported by the PLO, calling for a two-state settlement, with recognized borders and guarantees for the security and territorial integrity of both states. This fact, too, has conveniently been removed from historical memory—even Harold Saunders, former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, can write today that "as long as no Arab government but Egypt would make peace, Israel saw no alternative to maintaining its security by the force of its own arms."²

The Camp David agreements carried these arrangements further, leading finally to Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai after a "national trauma" that appears to have been staged for Israeli and American audiences.³ The completion of this withdrawal was one crucial event of

spring 1982. A second significant event of this period was the virtual annexation of the Golan Heights. A third was the implementation of the Sharon-Milson plan for suppressing any form of independent political expression in the occupied territories. These policies led to the harsh and brutal repression in the occupied territories (including the Golan) that received some limited and inadequate attention in the US press when Arabs were killed outright. The regular daily oppression and humiliation under the "benign occupation" generally passed without notice, as has been the case for many years.⁴

The next step was the invasion of Lebanon. Its primary aim was to destroy the social and political structures of the PLO, in order to eliminate any response as Israel proceeds towards more efficient repression in the occupied territories leading to ultimate annexation. A second specific goal was to establish at least in the southern part of Lebanon an Israeli client regime that will sooner or later provide Israel with access to the waters of the Litani River, a long-standing aim of Israeli government policy, advocated by Israeli planners at the highest level going back to the mid-1950s and in fact with earlier roots in Zionist thinking.⁵

Since early 1982, Israel has been seeking a pretext for the invasion of Lebanon. Since none was provided, a pretext was manufactured, on the plausible assumption that any story, however fanciful, would be defensible in the United States given the influence of "supporters of Israel" in the media and their past successes in constructing an acceptable history. The attempt to assassinate Israeli Ambassador Argov in London led to Israeli bombings with many casualties. The fact that the PLO was not involved in this savage act was an irrelevancy passed over quickly here.⁶ (Let us put aside the question of the appropriateness of the response had the PLO been involved.) PLO rocket attacks, in retaliation for the bombing of heavily populated areas in Lebanon, then served as the long-awaited pretext for the invasion, on the grounds that Israel was acting in "self-defense" and could not tolerate regular shelling of its northern settlements. There had been no PLO shelling of Israel from the July 1981 ceasefire⁷ until May 1982 (in response to Israeli bombing), while Israel had carried out thousands of intrusions into Lebanese territory, air space and territorial waters, and numerous other provocations, such as sinking Lebanese fishing vessels in Lebanese territorial waters.⁸

Creating Opportunities

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, himself a former terrorist commander, stated in Paris that "The goal [of the invasion] is to assure an end to terrorist attacks on northern Israel. As to the means for achieving this goal, rely on us. We will find the best way."⁹ The fact that there had been

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Israel's Invasion and the Disarmament Movement

no such terrorist attacks despite apparent attempts to elicit them was, as usual, beside the point. The *New York Times* bluntly asserted that "one need not approve every facet of Israel's policy to see the opportunity it has created."¹⁰ Secretary of State Haig explained that there is a "great deal of [US government] support" for Israel's justification of the invasion, though "some observers question [its] scope."¹¹ At this time the press was full of much noble rhetoric about how aggression must not be allowed to go unpunished—in the Falklands, where the bloodless Argentine invasion also "created opportunities" for resolving a long-standing dispute. Israel had undoubtedly been emboldened by the absence of any US condemnation when Israel bombed Lebanon with many civilian casualties on April 21, after a PLO "provocation"—an Israeli soldier was killed when his jeep struck a mine within Lebanon.

The timing of the Israeli invasion may have been influenced by the fact that elections were scheduled for August in Lebanon. One Israeli goal was to ensure that Israel will be in a position to determine the form of any possible settlement. Similar considerations may have been a factor in the 1978 Israeli invasion.¹²

Sharon's approach has the warm endorsement of *New Republic* editor Martin Peretz, who writes that Israel should administer to the PLO a "lasting military defeat" which "will clarify to the Palestinians in the West Bank that their struggle for an independent state has suffered a set-back of many years."¹⁷

Wasting no time, Sharon dissolved the elected city councils of Dura and Nablus in the West Bank, replacing the city council of Dura by "five Arab moderates." ("Moderate" is the term used for "Arab collaborators" in the US press.) An Israeli occupation official told the *New York Times* that "the moderates were now less vulnerable to intimidation by the Palestinian Liberation Organization because of the success of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon."¹⁸

Longer-term planning is also fairly predictable. The logic of both the *Likud* and Labor Party positions is that Jordan must be converted into the "Palestinian state" it already is in Israeli propaganda. Then conditions can be created in which the Arabs of the occupied territories (and perhaps those of Israel too) will "voluntarily emigrate" to the "Palestinian state," as proposed years ago by the Labor

restoration for the region includes the Arabian peninsula.²¹ A plausible (though unstated) further consequence is that Israel will control the region's energy reserves. A reading of the Israeli literature confirms David Shipler's observation that "[a] sense of Israeli grandeur seemed to shape [its] vision" of what he calls "a more peaceful and stable Middle East."²⁴

On a still broader scale, this alliance may be extended to include South Africa, which has been the recipient of direct Israeli assistance in its own rather comparable efforts to maintain instability and disorder along its borders.²⁵ It appears that Israel and South Africa are also advancing towards a large scale nuclear weapons capacity in their joint endeavors, including development of neutron bombs, missile delivery systems that can reach targets in the USSR, and a wide range of strategic and low-yield nuclear weapons.²⁶ Israel and South Africa are also reported to be engaged in joint development of cruise missiles with Taiwan.²⁷

In the 1960s, Israel acted (with substantial CIA subsidies) to assist in US penetration of Black Africa. Israel supported the regimes of Mobutu in Zaire and Bokassa in the Central African Republic. Ugandan president Milton Obote charges that Israel helped install Idi Amin in 1971.²⁸ The recent restoration of diplomatic relations with Mobutu is a step towards formally rebuilding these relations, which informally persisted through the diplomatic break of the 1970s.²⁹

Israel also has increasingly come to serve US interests in Central America. The new military regime in Guatemala alleges that "we succeeded because our soldiers were trained by the Israelis."³⁰ Its predecessor, the murderous Lucas Garcia regime, also benefited from substantial Israeli aid. Chief-of-Staff Benedicto Lucas Garcia stated that "the Israeli soldier is an example and a model for us," while announcing that "Israel provides us with military support."³¹ There is evidence that Israel may have provided the technical assistance to establish an intelligence system to enable the Guatemalan regime to conduct more efficient control (in effect, massacre) of opposition elements in Guatemala.³² According to the Israeli press, Israel served as a conduit for Reagan administration funding for El Salvador in 1981 after extra funds were blocked by Congress.³³ US plans to use Argentina as a surrogate force in Central America have foundered after the South Atlantic war. Israel might move to fill the gap, along with Chile, which is eager to take on the role assigned formerly to Argentina in US government planning. Since the late 1950s, the US government has regarded Israel as an "asset" in combating radical nationalist forces in the Middle East that might threaten US interests, increasingly so after the military victory of 1967 and particularly after 1970, when Israeli pressure was effective in deterring Syrian intervention in support of the Palestinians at the time of the "Black September" massacre. Israel is working to extend its services as a "strategic asset" on a global scale, in order to secure US support for its own immediate objectives in the surrounding Middle East region.

As long as the United States provides Israel with the requisite military forces, there is every reason to believe that Israel will proceed along this path, risking expanded war, which may engage the superpowers, leading to nuclear war.

Two Camps

Within Israel itself, opposition to these tendencies exists, but prior to this latest invasion at least it has been quite marginal. "This country is in two camps," says one Israeli sociologist, "the people who want to talk to the Palestinians and the people who want to hit them. And the people who want to hit them have won."³⁴ In fact, they had won long ago. It was, after all, the Labor Party cabinet of Yitzhak Rabin that rejected a proposal for Israel to "announce publicly its willingness to negotiate with any Palestinian group that would recognize Israel, renounce the use of terrorism against this country and accept the principles of the Security Council's Resolutions 242 and 338."³⁵ The policy of the Labor Party consistently corresponded to that of the Rejection Front within the PLO. Nevertheless, it is true that the voice of those seeking accommodation with the Palestinians has increasingly been stilled. Attitudes seem to be harsher among younger Israelis, so that prospects for the future are dimmer still.



Rescue workers digging through rubble in search of Beirut massacre victims.

The Israeli leadership combined mass murder with self-congratulation. Its claim to be "different" from other powers in its profound respect for human life has been generally treated with mock seriousness here. The *New York Times* cites without comment a Jerusalem press conference in which Imri Ron, a *Mapam* Knesset member and paratroop major who fought in the Beka'a valley and Sidon, "spoke from a combination of political and military authority" about the "clean fight" the Israeli army had fought, "taking extraordinary precautions to save civilians."¹³ This is not the perception of Madeline Van Voorst, a Dutch nurse at the Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital in Sidon closed down by the Israeli army. "I was in Holland during World War II," she told a reporter, "I know what fascists are like. It's terrible that all these women and children are being killed. Tell that to the world."¹⁴ But the paratroop major's version of what happened in Sidon is nevertheless the "authoritative" one, as far as our newspaper of record is concerned. * We are therefore to ignore the Israeli bulldozers a few blocks from the hospital which "carved out a ditch to be used as a mass grave for members of the Palestine Liberation Organization and civilians,"¹⁵ among many other scenes that the media have recorded.

Though the final outcome is not yet fully determined, Israel may well achieve its primary objectives. The next steps are easy to imagine. Israel will continue to move towards annexation of the occupied territories, employing whatever measures will be necessary, in accordance with the assumption of General Sharon that "quiet on the West Bank" requires "the destruction of the PLO in Lebanon."¹⁶

¹⁰ A Belgian doctor who "struggled to cope with wounded men, women and children" as the Israeli army closed the institution stated that "We had a good operation here. We were doing surgery and everything" before almost the entire staff was arrested by the Israeli army. (Michael Precker, *Boston Globe*, June 20, 1982) Shipler (*New York Times*, June 15) quotes the Israeli military governor of Sidon who closed the hospital: "It's obvious it's not a good hospital. At 11 a.m. today I had all the patients moved out to a good private hospital, the Labib Medical Center," not tainted by a Palestinian connection. He had not ordered the arrest of a Norwegian nurse, though "she is also a member of the PLO," because "we are democratic" and therefore "we are not taking women." A Canadian and Norwegian doctor will be taken to Israel for interrogation and possible imprisonment along with Palestinian doctors, the Major added. Shipler visited the "good private hospital" where no one seemed "pressed for time" and the director angrily refused to take patients from the closed hospital: "The first case I got from there, she had gangrene all over her body." Meanwhile one Belgian doctor remains in the closed Palestinian hospital to care for 58 patients, some badly wounded, amidst "a stench of filth and rotting flesh." This has merited little editorial comment here. This is also true of subsequent reports by Norwegian and Canadian doctors that prisoners were tortured and beaten to death by Israeli soldiers.

party leadership.¹⁹ This "Palestinian state" will then be hostage to Israeli attack, perhaps after such "provocations" as those that sufficed to justify the Lebanon invasion to American audiences. Syria, for its part, Israel will work to destabilize, so that Syria and Lebanon will be restored to a system rather like that of the Ottoman Empire, broken down into local dependencies of an ethnic-religious character dominated by America's "strategic asset." Similar plans are contemplated for Iraq, where Israel's interest lies in an eventual partition into Sunni, Shi'i and Kurdish states, as observed by military commentator Zeev Schiff.²⁰

This is one motive for Israel's support for Iran in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Another is that Israel perceives the possibility of a military coup that will restore the kinds of Iranian-Israeli relations that existed under the Shah. To this end, it is important to maintain contacts with the Iranian military. Jacob Nimrodi, formerly head of the Israeli *Mossad* in Iran under the Shah, expounded on these possibilities over BBC radio in February 1982.²¹ On the same program, the former Israeli Ambassador to Iran, Uri Lubrani, explained that a coup would be possible if carried out by a "relatively small force, determined, ruthless, cruel," led by men "emotionally geared to the possibility that they'd have to kill 10,000 people."

Strategic Understanding

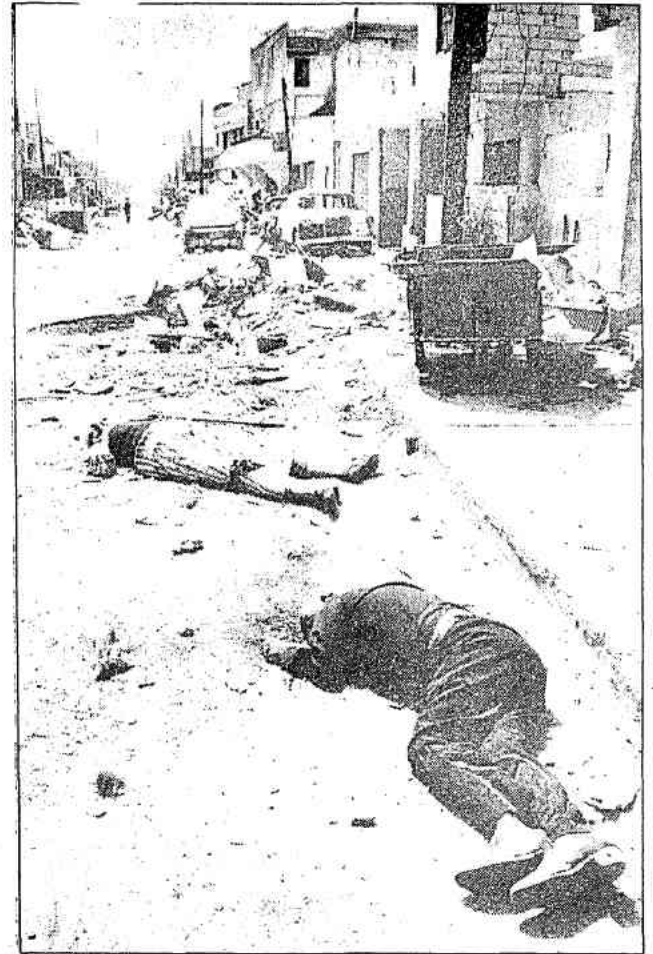
The longterm objective may be an alliance of Iran (once restored to the West), Turkey and Israel, ruling the region in alliance with the US as the ultimate source of their power. "The chance of strategic understanding among Iran, Turkey and Israel should not be ruled out as something that can surface again," according to an Israeli "expert."²² Some Israeli commentators go further still. In *Kivunim* [Directions], the official ideological journal of the World Zionist Organization, Oded Yinon suggests that "the political goal of Israel in the 1980s on its western front" is to dismember Egypt after reconquest of the Sinai, overturning the "mistaken peace agreement" with Sadat. This should be no major problem, he suggests, since Egypt is "a corpse." His detailed version of an Ottoman-style

Israeli jets
destroy
Iraq reactor

Israel will
bomb reactor
again, says
defiant Begin



Aftermath of Israel's attack. More than half a million people were made homeless.



Palestinians massacred in Beirut in September 1982.

One factor in this decline of "the people who want to talk to the Palestinians" is that their position has elicited so little support within the United States. Israeli doves constantly complain that "supporters of Israel" in the US are in fact driving Israel "toward a posture of calloused intransigence" that will lead to its moral deterioration and very likely ultimate physical destruction. A writer for *Ha'aretz*, referring to the recent wave of repression in the occupied territories, asserted that "[y]ou American Jews, you liberals, you lovers of democracy are supporting its destruction here by not speaking out against the government's actions."³⁷ He goes on to explain the plans of Begin and Sharon: to drive a large number of Arabs out of the West Bank, especially those with a potential for leadership:

You activate terrorists to plant bombs in the cars of their elected mayors, you arm the settlers and a few Arab quislings to run rampages through Arabs towns, pogroms against property, not against people. A few Arabs have been killed by settlers. The murderers are known, but the police are virtually helpless. They have their orders. What's your excuse for not speaking out against these violations of Israeli law and Jewish morality?*

The settlers, he adds, are "religious Jews who follow a higher law and do whatever their rabbis tell them. At least one of the *Gush Emunim* rabbis has written that it is a *mitzvah* to destroy Amalek, including women and children."³⁸ The *Ha'aretz* journalist adds that his journal has

a file of horror stories reported to us by soldiers returning from occupation duty in the West Bank. We can refer to them in general terms—we can rail against the occupation that destroys the moral fibre and self-respect of our youth—but we can't print the details because military censorship covers actions by soldiers on active duty.

One can imagine what the file contains, given what has been presented in the Israeli press, which has been much

*He refers to the "Village Leagues" that Israel has attempted to implant in the occupied territories to displace the elected leadership. The Israeli press regularly refers to these elements as quislings, and expresses considerable skepticism as to whether this tactic will succeed. Israel diverts resources to these collaborators and blocks funds from elsewhere in the hope that sooner or later it will be necessary for the West Bank Arabs to accept their leadership. There are many successful historical precedents elsewhere. On June 19, a teacher "was shot [and killed] by supporters of the Hebron Village League as he and other people in the village of Beit Kaher protested the linking of their electric system to the Israeli grid," regarded throughout the West Bank as a further step towards annexation (*New York Times*, June 20, 1982). The protesters are termed "militant Palestinians," as contrasted to the "moderates" of the Village Leagues.

On the immunity of the settlers, see *Towards a New Cold War*, afterword to chapter 9. A more recent device for protecting settlers who attack Arabs is the proposal to transfer all investigation of the illegal use of arms by settlers from the police to the military. Settlers simply refuse to cooperate with police, and the police do not "dare question or arrest Jewish suspects," even one "seen on television shooting directly into a crowd of demonstrating Arabs while soldiers stood behind him and were holding their fire," the head of the district council of a Jewish settlement near Ramallah, in this case (Amnon Rubinstein, *Ha'aretz*, April 5, 1982, and *Ha'aretz*, April 4, 1982). For some examples of how official investigators act to protect settlers who shoot to kill (even children), see Zvi Barak, "Talking to a settler," *Ha'aretz*, April 20, 1982. This religious settler explains how settlers employ random violence to keep Arabs from "raising their heads." Arabs "adore power" and will live in peace with Jews only when "we show him that we are strong" by beatings, shooting, vandalism, and a general pogrom-like atmosphere. All of this, and much more, courtesy of the uninformed American taxpayer.

***Mitzvah* is an act done to please God. Amalek is a Biblical term for non-Jews living in Palestine—Eds.

more comprehensive and candid than the US press in this regard. This topic should be a major concern of the US press, in the light of the enormous contribution of American taxpayers to maintaining the occupation.

The Disarmament Movement and Israel

Several years ago, certain elements in the Pentagon began to fear that the US had created a Frankenstein's monster by flooding Israel with advanced armaments. Anthony Cordesman, who had held a variety of high level administrative and intelligence posts in the Pentagon, wrote that the United States "may now find itself aiding an Israel which may use its military strength to take permanent control of former Arab territory in direct opposition to US policy, and be locked into an indefinite cold war with the Arabs," using its military forces for preemptive strikes. The US, he observed, "has built up Israel into a state able to wage aggressive war with minimal risk." He analyzed Israel's overwhelming military advantages as a result of US programs and speculated that Begin's "election may well have turned US willingness to supply armament to Israel into a major national security problem."³⁸

The disarmament movement dooms itself to near irrelevance if it disregards this and similar phenomena. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the policy context in which it took place, provides one illustration of how a nuclear war is likely to erupt. It is particularly significant for us because of the primary US role in support of Israel's "civilized terrorism" over many years. There are many other examples in the Middle East and elsewhere. Sometimes the operative factors may be largely or completely out of US control. In such cases, we can deplore ominous developments and their human consequences but can do little about them. Sometimes, as in the case discussed here, the US bears a heavy share of responsibility for exacerbating tensions and conflicts. Correspondingly, there is a great deal that we might do to relieve them.

For much of the human race, concern over a possible nuclear war may seem rather abstract and remote, a luxury granted those who do not have to face starvation, state terrorism, virtual slavery, military attack and subversion, and harsh deprivation of minimal human rights as conditions of daily existence. These issues must also be primary ones for those who hope to resist World War III in a meaningful way.

Those who devote their energies to these issues will confront problems that are intellectually more difficult and personally more unpleasant. A favorable media image, for example, is reserved for those who do not threaten the interests of established power. It is not difficult to understand why certain tendencies in the disarmament move-

ment are accorded considerable respect and receive much applause in the ideological institutions. It is possible to portray their concerns as self-serving, thus consistent with the principle that we should be devoted primarily to our own welfare. It is the expression of sympathy and concern for the victims of our power that is intolerable to the approved moral code.

A narrow focus on strategic weapons also tends to reinforce the basic principle of the ideological system, mirrored in the propaganda of our tacit partner in global oppression: that the superpower conflict is the central element of world affairs, to which all else is subordinated. In fact, the history of the cold war demonstrates with great clarity that the threat of the superpower enemy has consistently been manipulated by each of the superpowers to mobilize its domestic population and recalcitrant allies in support of aggression, intervention and subversion in its own domains, allegedly in "defense" against a powerful enemy bent on its destruction. It also demonstrates that the primary role of strategic weapons has been to establish conditions for often brutal assault against those who seek a measure of independence, without undue concern that these actions will be inhibited by countervailing forces. Again, this pattern is manifest in the behavior of both superpowers, each of which cheerfully exploits the other's brutality. It is also reflected in the Pentagon budget, much of which is devoted to intervention capacity.

The rhetoric of "self-defense" may come to be believed by leadership groups and the mainstream intelligentsia. In the USSR, for example, these elements may be able to persuade themselves that they are acting in self-defense when they attack Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. In the US, their counterparts may come to believe that the US was acting in self-defense when it overthrew the government of Guatemala or invaded Vietnam or bombed a defenseless peasant society in northern Laos. In Israel, Indonesia and elsewhere, naked aggression may likewise be seen as an exercise in self-defense. After all, people are able to tolerate only so much cognitive dissonance.

The superpower conflict is real enough, but the true history of the modern period is seriously distorted, in the interests of the superpowers, by the simplistic interpretations of the cold war system that suppress its functional role in providing the framework for intervention and subversion, employing the rhetoric of "self-defense" and "containment." The potential of the mass disarmament movement is enormous. It faces a task of historic significance. But it may fade away as quickly as it arose, with little impact on the drift towards catastrophe that brought it into being, unless it can break away from the assumptions of the prevailing doctrinal system and devote its energies to the more demanding and more uncomfortable questions that this system is designed to mask.

Israeli nuclear plant at Dimona.



PALESTINE • RESOURCES

1. Palestine Information Office

2nd Floor, 109 Drummond St, Carlton, Victoria.
PO Box 97, Carlton 3053, Australia.
Telephone (03) 347 4272.
Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Australia.
Charge d'Affaires: Ali Kazak.

2. Solidarity and activist groups

Victoria

Jews Against Zionism and Anti-Semitism (JAZA),
PO Box 289, Fitzroy 3065.
Palestine Human Rights Campaign (Victoria),
PO Box 275, Carlton South 3053.

New South Wales

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (Sydney),
PO Box 146, Petersham 2049.
Also branches on several campuses.
Palestine Human Rights Campaign (Wollongong),
PO Box 240, Warrawong 2502.

ACT

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (ACT),
PO Box 95, Lyneham 2602.

Western Australia

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (WA),
PO Box 95, South Fremantle 6162.

South Australia

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (SA),
PO Box 135 Rundle St, Adelaide 5000.

Queensland

Palestine Human Rights Committee,
PO Box 93, West End 4101.

New Zealand

Wellington Palestine Group,
PO Box 642, Wellington.
Palestine Human Rights Campaign,
PO Box 68367, Auckland.
Palestine Human Rights Campaign,
PO Box 29168, Christchurch.

3. Films and speakers

Films and/or a speaker is one of the most effective means of raising the question of Palestine in groups to which you belong. Films and speakers are, in general, available from the solidarity groups listed above. For films in Victoria, contact the Palestine Information Office, listed above. Useful films are also available from:

UN Information Centre,
GPO Box 4045, Sydney 2001.
National Library,
Parkes ACT 2600.
Telephone (062) 62 1111.

4. Radio programs

Victoria

3CR (Community Radio Melbourne), AM band, 837 kHz. Telephone (03) 419 8377.
The following programs generally cover the Middle East, though not all of them exclusively:
Union Line 6.30am Wednesdays
Palestine Voice 8.00pm Wednesdays
Par Avion 8.00am Saturdays
Arab Friendship 5.30pm Saturdays
JAZA 10.35am every second Sunday.
You can become a 3CR Listener-Sponsor and receive the 'CR-AM' program guide by sending \$20 pa (\$10 pa concession) to 20 Cromwell St, Collingwood 3066.

New South Wales

2SER-FM (Sydney Educational Radio)
Telephone (02) 218 9993.
Middle East Program 7.15pm Mondays.

5. Periodicals — Australia

Free Palestine,
PO Box 97, Carlton 3053.
\$8 for 12 issues. 12-page newspaper published bi-monthly.

Middle East North Africa News,
GPO Box 2710X, Melbourne 3001.
\$5 pa. Published quarterly.

Palestine (Sydney PHRC Monthly Information Bulletin),
PO Box 146, Petersham 2049.
\$10 pa (Institutions \$20 pa, students \$7 pa).

The National Library, Parkes ACT 2600, publishes an irregular bulletin 'The Middle East — a Select List of Publications Recently Received'.

The Australasian Middle East Studies Association, FIT Library, PO Box 64, Footscray 3011, also publishes an irregular bibliography of available resources.

6. Books and information — Australia

- A good range of books is available at the more progressive bookshops in most cities and on some campuses.
- Amongst the many titles now generally available, the following are recommended:
DAVIS, Uri (1977) 'Israel: Utopia Incorporated' (Zed Press: London)
ELMESSIRI, Abdelwahab (1977) 'The Land of Promise — A Critique of Political Zionism' (North American: New Brunswick, NJ)

GILMOUR, David (1982) 'Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians' (Sphere Books: London)
JIRYIS, Sabri (1976) 'The Arabs in Israel' (Monthly Review Press: New York)
LILIENTHAL, Alfred (1978) 'The Zionist Connection — What Price Peace?' (Dodd, Mead: New York)
PALESTINE BOOK PROJECT (1977) 'Our Roots Are Still Alive — The Story of the Palestinian People' (Peoples Press: San Francisco)
RODINSON, Maxime (1982) 'Israel and the Arabs' Second Edition (Penguin Books: Ringwood)
ROKACH, Livia (1980) 'Israel's Sacred Terrorism — A Study Based on Moshe Sharet's Personal Diary and Other Documents' (Association of Arab-American University Graduates: Belmont, Mass.)
SAID, Edward (1980) 'The Question of Palestine' (Vintage Books: New York)
SAYIGH, Rosemary (1979) 'Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries' (Zed Press: London)
WEINSTOCK, Nathan (1979) 'Zionism: False Messiah' (Ink Links: London)
ZUREIK, Elia T. (1979) 'The Palestinians in Israel — A Study in Internal Colonialism' (Routledge & Kegan Paul: London)

- The following books are available by mail: 'A People Dispossessed', published by PHRC (Victoria). 36pp photo-essay of the Palestinians. \$2.70 posted from PHRC, PO Box 275, Carlton South 3053.

'Nazi-Zionist Collaboration', published by JAZA and BAZO. Fully documented evidence on collaboration between Zionist and Nazi leaders in the Second World War, originally prepared by JAZA for the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal Inquiry into 3CR Community Radio Melbourne. 120pp. Available for \$3.70 posted from Alternate News Service, PO Box 89, Clifton Hill 3068.

- Background information on the churches and the Palestine question is available from the Australian Council of Churches, PO Box C199 Clarence Street, Sydney 2000, and ACC, 100 Flinders Street, Melbourne 3000.

7. Periodicals — overseas

Journal of Palestine Studies,
PO Box 11-7164, Beirut, Lebanon.
\$US18 one year, \$US35 two years, \$US50 three years; airmail per year, add \$US5.
Academic quarterly on Palestinian affairs and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Back issues also available. French language quarterly 'Revue d'etudes Palestiniennes' now also available.
MERIP (Middle East Research and Information Project),
PO Box 1247, New York NY 10027, USA.
\$US17 one year, \$US31 two years; airmail per year, add \$US15.50. Left-wing academic

journal published nine times a year. Focuses on political economy and popular struggles of contemporary Middle East. Distributors for Zed Press. Booklist and back issues also available.

Al Fajr,
2025 Eye St, NW, Suite 902,
Washington DC 20006, USA.
\$US75 pa. English weekly summary of the daily Palestinian 'Al Fajr' newspaper. Sometimes irregular appearance due to Israeli censorship and banning orders.

The Shahak Papers,
PHRC, 1322 18th St NW, Washington DC 20036, USA.
\$US25 pa. Bimonthly. Translations from the Israeli press by Dr Israel Shahak of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Incomparable source material.

Report on the Palestinians under Israeli Rule,
BP 130-10, 75463 Paris, Cedex 10, France.
\$US50 pa. An exhaustive analysis of the Israeli mistreatment of Palestinians under occupation, compiled from over 30 newspapers and periodicals.

Free Palestine (UK),
PO Box 492, London SW19 4PJ, UK.
£7 pa. Monthly tabloid newspaper.

Khamsin,
Ithaca Press, 13 Southwark St, London SE1, UK.
£UK9 for three issues. A socialist journal of the Middle East, produced by Jews and Arabs.

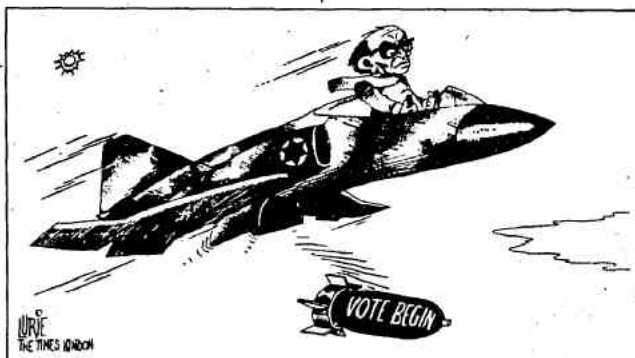
Middle East International,
21 Collingham Rd, London SW5, UK.
\$US120 pa airmail. Fortnightly news magazine, perhaps the most valuable regular publication on the topic.

8. Things to do

- Join one of the solidarity groups listed above. These groups can provide literature, speakers and films, and organize a number of public activities.
- Raise the Palestinian issue in the organizations to which you belong — unions, community groups etc. Distribute literature, arrange for films to be shown, have the organizations endorse and participate in solidarity actions.
- Help financially. Palestinian solidarity groups rely on contributions from members and the general public to finance activities.
- Write/complain to the media about blatant examples of racist and anti-Palestinian bias. It is generally better to phone the electronic media and write to the daily newspapers. Write to your local parliamentarian, and/or the Minister for Foreign Affairs expressing the viewpoint of organizations to which you belong, etc.

Footnotes

- ¹Noam Chomsky, "Interim Agreement," *New Politics*, Winter 1975. For further references and discussion concerning the period reviewed here, see my *Towards a New Cold War*, (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
- ²Harold Saunders, "Post-Lebanon Goals," *New York Times (NYT)*, June 20, 1982.
- ³*Israeli News Service*, No. 205-6, May 20, 1982 (PO Box 9013, 91 090, Jerusalem).
- ⁴For some indication of the character of the occupation, see *Towards a New Cold War*, chapter 9, and Rafik Halabi, *The West Bank Story* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981).
- ⁵It was clear a year ago that "sooner or later, Israel will probably find a pretext for another invasion of Lebanon in an effort to administer the coup de grace to the PLO and to disperse the refugees once again" (*Towards a New Cold War*, p. 297). For discussion of Israel's designs on the Litani River, which require that it control Lebanon well to the north, and of Israel's long-term efforts to control the water resources in the immediate region, see Thomas Stauffer, "Israel's water needs may erode path to peace in region," *Christian Science Monitor (CSM)*, January 20, 1982. Much earlier, David Ben-Gurion held that Eretz Yisrael included southern Lebanon, which he referred to as "the northern part of western Israel." For Ben-Gurion, it also included southern Syria, Jordan, the Sinai, and the currently occupied territories. See Israel Shahak, "The Historical Right and the Other Holocaust," *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Spring 1981), citing the Report of the 1938 Congress of the World Council of Poale Zion, the precursor to the major element in the current Labor coalition. At about the same time, Ben-Gurion claimed that "the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concern of the Jewish people and no external factor will be able to limit them" [*New Outlook*, (Tel Aviv, April 1977), citing Ben-Gurion's memoirs]. The context was his acceptance of a partition proposal as a step towards realizing these aspirations.
- ⁶Also quickly passed over was the assassination of two Palestinians in Rome by a group calling itself the "Jewish Armed Resistance," which appears to have had contact with the Jewish Defense League.
- ⁷Michael Precker writes in the *Boston Globe* (June 20, 1982) that the Israeli town of Kiryat Shmona "was frequently hit by artillery shells and Soviet-made Katyusha rockets," referring specifically to the three-week "border clash" (which included the bombing of Beirut with hundreds of dead) in July 1981. He does not mention that the border had been peaceful in mid-1981 until Israel bombed Palestinian targets in Lebanon on July 10, 1981. This has been a recurring pattern. The standard version in the US, however, is that Israel has been compelled to tolerate unprovoked PLO shelling: "It was never reasonable," the *New York Times* editorialized on June 7, "to expect Israel to leave the Galilee hostage to an unfettered PLO army within rocket range." In the light of the historical record, this can be interpreted to mean that Israel must be free to bomb Palestinians and Lebanese at will, without fear of retaliation.
- ⁸Anthony Lewis, "Operation Peace," *NYT*, June 7, 1982; Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway, "War in Lebanon," *Village Voice*, June 22, 1982, reviewing UN Security Council reports, *inter alia*: to date, this is the most accurate and comprehensive account of the background to the invasion. On the record of Israeli provocations, the *Christian Science Monitor's* Robin Wright reported on March 18, 1982, what UN officials and Western diplomats in Beirut describe as an Israeli campaign of "brinkmanship shadowboxing" in an attempt to bait the Palestinians into provoking a confrontation.



southern Lebanon," including highly provocative military deployments in Lebanon, sinking of Lebanese fishing boats and so forth. *AJME News* (Americans for Justice in the Middle East) (Beirut, April 1982) cites a report of the rightist "Voice of Lebanon" radio on March 9 that a Lebanese freighter was dynamited by Israeli frogmen in Tyre.

- ⁹*Boston Globe*, June 16, 1982.
- ¹⁰*NYT* editorial, June 11, 1982.
- ¹¹*Boston Globe*, June 20, 1982.
- ¹²Walid Khalidi, *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).
- ¹³See David Shipler's dispatches in *NYT*, June 18 and June 20, 1982.
- ¹⁴Michael Precker, *Boston Globe*, June 20, 1982.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.* Evidently we are also to ignore Shipler's description of Tyre (June 15), where "not a single building was untouched by the flying shrapnel" and "some high-rise apartments had collapsed like houses of cards, some villas were chewed into piles of dust and rubble," with casualties that will probably never be known.
- ¹⁶Ze'ev Schiff, *Ha'aretz*, May 23, 1982.
- ¹⁷Interview with Beni Landau, *Ha'aretz*, June 4, 1982. Peretz is concerned that Begin's "autonomy" will allow the Arabs no more than the right to collect their own garbage, and urges "slightly better" treatment. Israeli society is "too moral," he explains, as illustrated by the "enlightened and liberal 13-year occupation." He thinks that his "old friend" Menahem Milson may be right in his judgement that "it was necessary to carry out the strongarm policies [he has advocated] from 1967." As for the Palestinians, their day has passed: "the quarrel is beginning to be boring." The Palestinians will become "just another crushed people, like the Kurds and the Afghans," and the "European initiative" will founder, as has already begun to happen with the political changes in France and Britain. There is a problem in the US, where Israel has "lost the press many years ago," because "most journalists are young people of the Vietnam generation whose sympathy is always granted to anyone who calls himself a guerrilla" or a "freedom fighter," and television simply "makes the problem worse." But Israel has friends in powerful places and should carry the day.

- ¹⁸*NYT*, June 17, 1982.
- ¹⁹For Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's thoughts on this matter, see *Towards a New Cold War*, p. 234.
- ²⁰*Ha'aretz*, June 2, 1982.
- ²¹BBC-1 at 2010, February 1, 1982.
- ²²*NYT*, May 29, 1982.
- ²³Oded Yinon, "A Strategy for Israel in the 1980s," *Kivunim*, February 1982 (Hebrew).
- ²⁴*NYT*, June 20, 1982. In keeping with this sense of grandeur, Begin described the Argov assassination attempt as "a most cruel attack on the majesty of the state of Israel" (*NYT*, June 18, 1982). Consider also General Sharon's account of "Israel's strategic interests" as extending over Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf to North and Central Africa. (*Al-Fajr*, January 15-21, 1982, p. 10, translated from *Ma'ariv*).
- ²⁵See *Towards a New Cold War*, pp. 293-4, and Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression*, (Belmont, MA: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1982).
- ²⁶Yossi Melman, *Ha'aretz*, May 12, 1982, reporting on the contents of a new book (*Two Minutes over Baghdad*) by Israeli and American-Israeli scholars with special qualifications in "military strategy and nuclear doctrines": Michael Hendel, Amos Perlmutter and Uri Bar-Yosef. There is a briefer report in the *Jerusalem Post*, May 13, 1982.
- ²⁷See *Towards a New Cold War*, p. 293.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 315, 457. On Uganda, see the *Washington Post*, March 25, 1972, and British press accounts of the Idi Amin coup in January 1971. Amin ordered an estimated 40 Israeli military advisers out of the country in March 1972, and soon broke relations completely.
- ²⁹Abraham Rabinovich, "Israel mends some fences in Black Africa," *CSM*, May 24, 1982; "4,000 Israeli Experts Aiding Black Africa," *Jewish Post & Opinion* (New York), June 19, 1982; Alan Cowell, "Israel's Toehold in Africa May Fall Victim to War," *NYT*, June 19, 1982.
- ³⁰*Ma'ariv*, March 25, 1982.
- ³¹*Ma'ariv*, November 22, 1981; see appendix to Shahak, *op. cit.*
- ³²John Rettie, "Israeli arms help Guatemala's fight against Guerrillas," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 10, 1982.
- ³³*Davar*, January 3, 1982; *Ma'ariv*, January 3, 1982; see appendix to Shahak, *op. cit.*
- ³⁴*NYT*, June 20, 1982.
- ³⁵*NYT*, December 2, 1975. See *Towards a New Cold War*, pp. 266ff for this and other statements.
- ³⁶General (Res.) Mattityahu Peled, "American Jewry: More Israeli than Israelis," *New Outlook*, May-June 1975. See also *Towards a New Cold War*, p. 273.
- ³⁷Jesse Lurie, "Democracy Seen in Danger in Israel," *Jewish Post & Opinion*, May 28, 1982.
- ³⁸Anthony H. Cordesman, *Armed Forces Journal International*, October 20, 1977.

RAPE: the end of every wolf-whistle

AUS Women's Department, 95 Drummond Street, Carlton, 3053.

If you are being sexually harassed at university or at work — that means any repeated or unwanted sexual comments, looks, suggestions or physical contact that you find objectionable or offensive and causes you discomfort there's little you can do about it. If there are understanding women around, it's best to tell them about it rather than men because men tend to believe it's trivial and hysterical.

Women's groups should compile black lists of lecturers, staff and students as well as companies known to indulge in particularly bad forms of harassment. It's been done before at universities and colleges where certain academics have raped or abused women during their studies.

In Japan a group of women fed up with the bosses advances have taken to storming the office and confronting him in front of other workers. That's one way, but it probably won't get your job back, however it will be satisfying!

If the women wishes to pursue the allegation, the committee invites the employer to present his side of the story . . . and admits that's the end . . . because what man wouldn't deny such an accusation.

One trade union which recognises the problem is the Liquor and Allied Trades covering women who work in hotels and restaurants. Linda Rubenstein who works with that union and who's researched the incidence of sexual harassment, says women in the Liquor and Allied Trades particularly suffer. They're likely to be asked to present a sexy image to customers, to make themselves available to the innuendo or straight out advances in order to sell the business. Linda says the complaints often come after a woman has left a job because she's fed up and insulted. But she says most women wouldn't get to that stage — they'd rather put up with it and save their jobs, because work is getting harder to obtain.

WARNING — STOP SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Your actions/words constitute Sexual Harassment.

Sexual Harassment occurs when men use their power as men and/or their power positions as tutors, academics or employers to sexually coerce women.

You have used your privileged position against a woman.

This is your first warning. The next woman or the next time, we will not be so willing to explain our anger: legal redress can be taken.

Produced by AUS Women's Department, 207 Lygon St., Carlton, 3053.

Remember going to that first class . . . fighting the nerves . . . wondering what to say . . . wondering if you had dressed suitably and wondering whether you were the only person who didn't know anybody.

If you think you've got past first base because you're at university — think again. Women in residences, libraries and classrooms, like those in paid employment put up with sexual harassment every day.

Many women feel guilty at the thought of complaining about wolf-whistles and stares or the pinch on the bum, or the sexual comments about their bodies (the offender with the smile on his face says it's all in fun) because they actually believe they may have encouraged the advances.

The Unemployed Workers Union has countless stories of women in a hopeless bind in their workplace where sexual harassment occurs. Women are scared to leave their jobs voluntarily because of the waiting period to get unemployment benefits.

In case of complaint, the federal government has set up a special committee to look into it. Investigation shows the Discrimination in Employment group has done nothing to bring these cases to light, but I'm told they're working on policy at the moment. The committee's term of reference doesn't even include sexual harassment — it loosely covers race, colour, sex, religion, national extraction, political opinion and social origin. One committee member said that women would almost certainly be counselled out of taking the complaint further, again, because it would be so hard to prove.

Women who are sexually harassed have little chance of legal redress. Formal complaints often result in defamation actions being taken against the woman who has 'damaged' the good name and character of her teacher, co-worker or boss. Women may take their complaint to the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity who has more power than the Discrimination Committee. There's some value in doing this because the Commissioner is compiling statistics about it, and the more complaints that come forward, the more it can be driven home that this problem is rampant.

In the United States women have begun to prosecute employers. Fortunately the nature of the American legal system gives women a better chance of succeeding. The Australian legal system seems to work for narrow concerns and doesn't have the scope for sexual harassment actions.

In the Canberra College of Advanced Education, a year long campaign by the campus Women's Group has resulted in initiatives to set up a Sexual Harassment Grievance Procedure in the College Administration.

The ANU union Board of Management is currently examining a proposal for a grievance procedure for union staff.

The Administration of this University has no sexual harassment grievance procedure. Women on Campus is considering investigating the issue of sexual harassment at this university. If any women have comments, questions, or would like to contribute, come along to Women on Campus, 1 pm Wednesdays in the Women's Room, or ring the Students' Association Office.

WOMEN'S SELF DEFENCE
A 12-week programme will probably be offered on
Mondays 7.30-9.00
or Thursdays 5.30-7.00
\$5 unemployed, \$10 employed
(Contact Lea Collins, Activities Officer
ANU Union, 49 2386)

FANG
Feminist Anti Nuclear Group
speaking at
NATIONWIDE PEACE RALLY
March 27th
War Memorial

WAR
Women Against Rape
meet every Monday
at 7.30
in the Women's Centre
to discuss 1983 Anzac Day

On March 19-20 there will be a
CONFERENCE ON RAPE
run by the Rape Crisis Centre
registration \$7.50, ring 47 8071
for more information

sexism at c.c.a.e.

Canberra College of Advanced Education produces an Orientation Handbook called *Survive*. On the page headed 'Women's Issues' it features a picture of a naked woman with her body divided up as if to show different cuts of meat. The complaints from Women on Campus (CCAÉ) about this graphic were an article headed 'Men' suggests that AUS should support 'Rape on Demand'.

A woman I spoke to from the College told me she was 'insulted and angry' that such material was published, and that she is anxious to change attitudes on that campus.

There is no formal redress to prevent sexist publications at the CCAE. Women on Campus at the College have written to **CCAESARIAN** (their newspaper), their SA President, and the Director of Student Media, but their main hopes lie in the possible election of better editors of **CCAESARIAN** this year. Hopefully they would not print any more of this kind of offensive material.

The woman I spoke to thought *Survive* reflected a very thoughtless approach to a very serious issue. It must be stressed, time and time again, that **RAPE IS NOT A JOKE**. There is an atmosphere of 'prevailing ockerism' at CCAE, which means that it is easier to be a knocker than a progressive. This is unfortunate.

At ANU, we should remember that although the left can prevent such publications now, and work to counter sexist attitudes, none of us can afford to be complacent.

Helen Campbell



ECONOMICS SOCIETY

At the start of 1982 a group of students decided to resuscitate the Economics Society from several years of deathlike inactivity. The exhumation was not justified by the desire to get our bony fingers into the Society's bank account (unfortunately, the cupboard was bare) but in response to a build-up of frustration over certain social and academic aspects of the Economics Faculty.

The 70 students and staff at the first meeting (numbers were buoyant because of an intense dissatisfaction with the Eco.III assessment scheme, a scheme which was changed in response to student pressure) the following aims for the Society were accepted without dissent.

1. To promote the social and intellectual interests of Economics students.
2. To foster discussion about the action upon:

- (i) the presently biased course content;
- (ii) assessment methods;
- (iii) teaching methods;
- (iv) teaching quality;
- (v) staff-student ratios;
- (vi) failure rates;
- (vii) co-operation with other faculties;
- (viii) other areas of student concern.

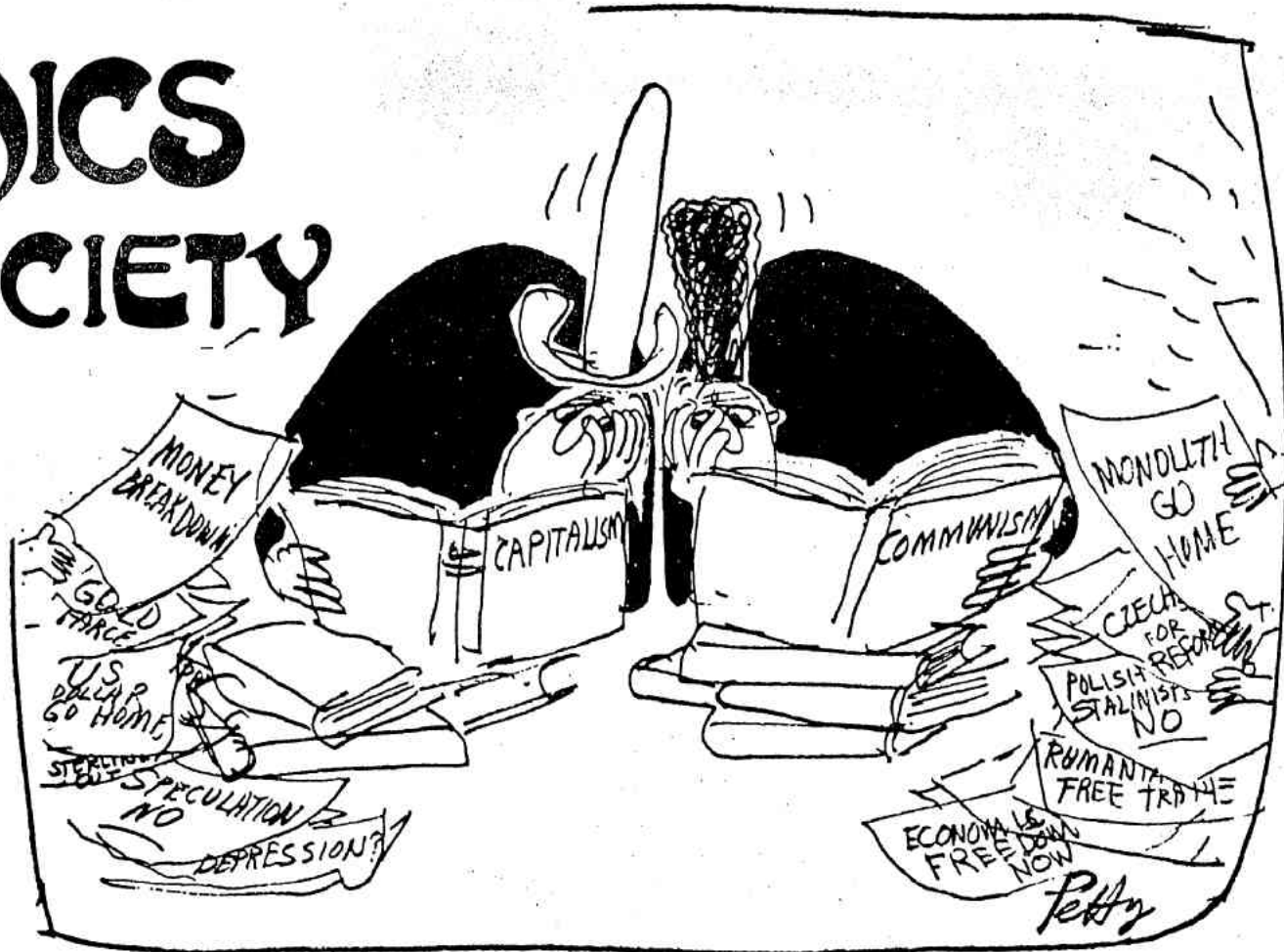
Intellectual Interests

The promotion of the 'intellectual interests' of Economics students was strongly linked to attempts aimed at overcoming the very obviously biased course content. These included the showing of a couple of films (one dealing with multinational companies, the other a humorous satire on Australia's economic system), getting Dr Bob Gregory to discuss the Australian Labour Market and, along with the Education Collective, setting up the Economics Reading Group (the Reading Group studied the myth of 'positive economics' and examined some of the differences between neo-classical, neo-Ricardian and neo-Marxist economics). With a bit more organization and the help of some people with training wider than ANU's neo-classical economics, we hope that 1983 will be even more successful. Everyone is encouraged to read the critique of the Economics Faculty in the Counter-Course Handbook, and consider coming along to the Political Economy Reading Group. This group will *not* be so rigorous or esoteric as to exclude everyone except the Samuelson's of this world - first year economics students and students from other faculties are encouraged to attend. The timing of the next discussion will be advertised, so keep your eyes open!

Representation

The second major area of activity was obtaining a full quota of active Economic student representatives on the Economics Faculty Education Committee, the Economics Faculty, and the Board of the Faculties. This type of active student representation is essential in meeting the aims of point 2 above. Most students pass through uni with an unhealthy ignorance of the committees which determine the 'what, when and how' of their units. The issue of whether a Bachelor of Commerce should be introduced was only taken back to students for their views after some students had raised strong objections at the Board of Faculties. Other issues presently being considered include whether Economic History, Public Economics and Mathematical Statistics should all be moved into the Economics Department, responses to the continuing high wastage and failure rates in Eco I, changing the grading system to allow 'pass' students to receive Cr, D and HD etc. etc. These issues are important for students and we hope to have a say in the choices made. Unfortunately most of last year's student representatives have graduated, and will not be replaced until after several important choices have been made! The timing problems of gaining an effective student voice.

SOCIETY



Social

In attempting to meet the social part of the above aims, the Society organized several BBQ's and 'chicken and wine' functions, all of which were very successful and had attendances of 60 to 100 students and staff. AISEC became more involved as the year progressed, and in the spirit of continuing co-operating, the BBQ for newcomers was held on Friday

11th March. The Economics Society's co-operation with AISEC (n.b. a situation of enjoying economies of scale and having nothing to do with collusive marketing behaviour) will continue with two more social events planned before the end of first term.

Anyway, the Society encourages new members and hopes that students will feel free to participate in the various activities.

Don't forget the first Economics Society Meeting at 2pm on Thursday, 17th March in the Union's Meeting Room (next to Knotholes Bar)

Cheese and wine will be provided. Come along with your ideas or problems with the Economics Faculty.

ACADEMIC'S CALCULATORS:

FROM TEXAS INSTRUMENTS-THE PEOPLE WHO INVENTED ELECTRONIC HANDHELD CALCULATORS

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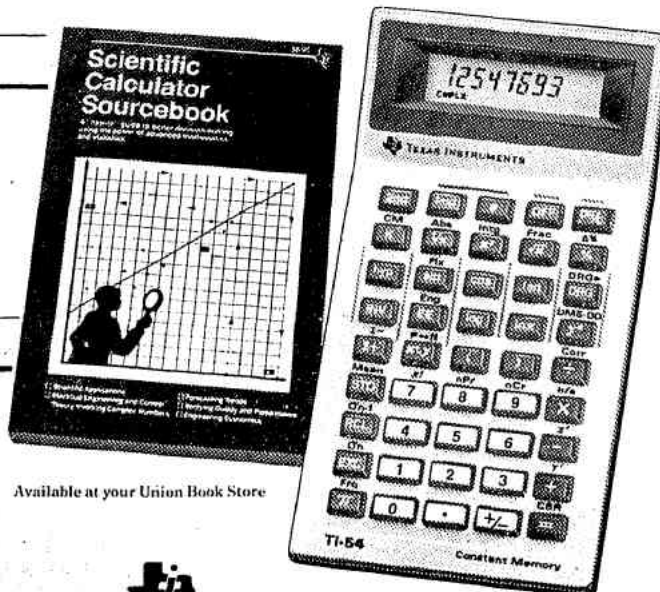
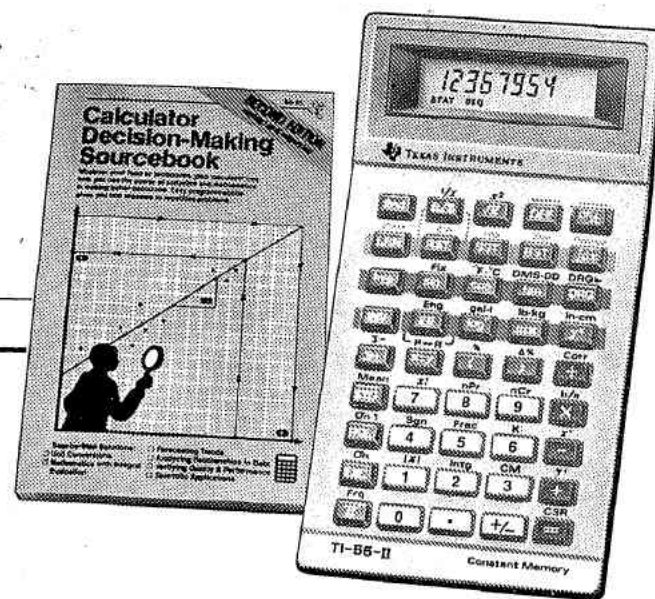
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- Advanced LCD Slide rule model with programming and statistics.
- Unit Conversions.
- Mathematics with Integral Evaluation.
- Forecasting Trends.
- Analysing Relationships.
- Verifying Quality and Performance.
- Scientific Applications.

TI-54 Suggested Retail **\$47.50**

- Advanced LCD scientific model for engineering and scientific professionals.
- Scientific Applications.
- Electrical Engineering and Control, Theory involving Complex Numbers.
- Forecasting Trends.
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- Engineering Economics.

Free Sourcebook with TI-55-II and TI-54 worth \$6.95



Available at your Union Book Store

TEXAS INSTRUMENTS



NOT A COMPLIMENT...

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

One concern of many people on our campus is that there should be no 'sexual harassment'. I do not believe that this is a major problem at the present time, but I recognise that even one case of improper behaviour of one individual towards another is a very serious matter for that individual. I would like it to be clear that any member of staff (academic or general), or any student should feel free to protest about any such harassment. An individual might be very reluctant to do so but he or she might, thereby, help to avoid similar improprieties in future. One problem is the question of whom to see. I do not think that there should be only one channel of communication and redress of grievances. Therefore may I suggest that the following offices and individuals are appropriate for discussing any cases which arise:

The Office of the Dean of Students
Wardens, Masters and Heads of Halls, Colleges and Residences
President of the Students' Association
Di Riddell, Admin. Secretary, Students' Association
Counselling Centre
Dean of Faculties
Heads of Departments
Health Service.
The Chaplains

This list is not meant to be exhaustive.

If disciplinary and/or legal action is required the University has appropriate committees and mechanisms for such matters, but I think these problems

not a joke!



should be dealt with directly and informally in the first instance within our own 'household'. The Office of the Dean of Students and the Office of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor will be able to proceed further. In any case, these are matters of the greatest personal confidence.

I have been reluctant to create any kind of formal committee or organisation to cope with any such problems which arise, as I believe we already have a well-linked and very caring community which will try to resolve all such problems. Anyone who wishes to discuss these matters should seek what seems for him or her the most appropriate channel. We wish to assure staff and students that the utmost discretion will be shown in every instance.

Hector Kinloch, Dean of Students.

RESPONSE

At his welcoming speech to Part-time and Mature Age Students this year the Dean of Students, Hector Kinloch, mentioned sexual harassment. He warned mature age women students to keep their hands off 18 year old boys. He later described this as a 'joke'.

The President of the Students' Association, Bill Redpath, and the chair of the Union Board of Management, Matthew Storey, were present on the occasion. They protested at this trivialisation of the issue of sexual harassment and requested a written apology. His article on this page is the 'apology' we received.

This response clearly demonstrates that the Dean of Students regards his 'joke' as an adequate and acceptable representation of the issue. In this he is mistaken. Women on Campus restate our request for a written apology. That sort of flippant comment ignores the fact that any academic institution reflects and supports a society where men hold power over women, and often use that power as sexual harassment.

If Hector Kinloch makes comments like that in public, it is hardly surprising

that few women feel that he is the appropriate person to approach to report harassment. If the Dean of Students is serious in his statement that any student 'should feel free' to approach him, he should not alienate women by making sexist comments in public.

Approaching authorities with a complaint of sexual harassment is a difficult thing for a woman to do: particularly if she then faces formal interviews and ridicule or disbelief from her classmates or teachers. It is often the case, within existing structures, that a woman is worse off after complaining than she would have been had she remained silent. Women on Campus do not deny that men may be sexually harassed by other men or by women. However the overwhelming majority of sexual harassment is directed by men against women.

Women on Campus stress that any form of rape or sexual harassment is **NOT A JOKE**. We regard it as unsatisfactory that the Dean of Students regards it as a minor problem in this 'caring community'. We urge him to read the article on sexual harassment in this issue of *Women* and then to look about the campus. Perhaps we may then receive a written apology, and a more serious attitude.

Helen Campbell.



THE WALL: A film ABOUT WIMMIN BY MEN.

Lisa Macdonald

Pink Floyd's 'The Wall' is a technically superb and powerful film which captures and conveys the immediacy and horror of alienation in our society better than any I have seen.

It is also, however, an unqualified exercise in misogyny which left me, as a feminist, largely untouched by the significant merits the film would have otherwise possessed.

The fact that a popular film contains all those ideologies which distort and oppress femininity does not in itself surprise or anger me. After all, an analysis of most films on the market today would reveal an abundance of sexism in each. What inspires me to write something about the sexism in this film in particular, is that, naively, I did not expect to see misogyny take such a central and powerful place in a film which is, on other levels, quite progressive. 'The Wall' is not sexist in the usual sense of portraying wimmin as weak, passive and submissive creatures. Nor is the explicit violence, of which there is a great deal, directed solely or even primarily at wimmin. (Those scenes in which wimmin are brutalised are presented in the context of fascist violence which is indiscriminately directed at all 'deviants'). Rather, it is at a more basic, almost sub-conscious level that the misogyny is located and conveyed in this film.

The fact that the wimmin-hatred in 'The Wall' is less focussed or overt does not lessen its impact - it may in fact enhance it. This is because although someone may, if they wish, reject images and ideas which are explicitly presented on film (or elsewhere) and can therefore be interpreted and assessed, it is much more difficult to debate and reject sets of ideas which are conveyed in a less tangible, clear and accessible manner. In the case of 'The Wall', it seems to me likely that most viewers will not even consciously perceive the misogyny presented, let alone reject it. Instead, I fear, the powerful images of wimmin as the embodiment of evil will merely be absorbed and digested at an unconscious level adding to the stockpile of distorted and oppressive images of wimmin which are constantly being presented and accepted by most people in our society.

Some examples of the subtle but powerful imagery which conveys the wimmin-hate mentality in 'The Wall' will help to clarify why this film is oppressive and dangerous for wimmin, despite its 'radical' nature.

Consistent with a fascist mentality, 'The Wall' presents sex as the root of all evil. Deriving from this basic tenet, and assuming that age-old notion of wimmin as temptresses and castrators, the film successfully locates in womanhood the source of all our social ills. It tells us, through both characterisation and graphics, that wimmin are quite clearly dangerous and destructive and must in turn be destroyed. Some examples:

- 1) As is amply illustrated in the fairytales, nursery rhymes and humour of our culture, *mother*, the nurturer and protector, reigns supreme in the evil stakes (in this case it is Pink's mother). She is the most powerful brick in the wall, passing on all her fears, woes and suffering to her children; thereby retarding her (male) children's independent growth by suffocating them spiritually with unbounded love and protection. Mothers, 'The Wall' tells us, are, all in all, a regressive and soul-destroying influence. Therefore, not only must the apron strings be cut, but her power completely destroyed. Such images are far from new, but they seemed to be particularly powerful in this film.
- 2) Wives/lovers too are evil creatures according to 'The Wall'. Unlike mothers, they do not strive to grasp, protect and cripple their wards. Rather they seduce and discard men as they please. The infidelity of wives/lovers, the fact that they leave their men when they are most needed by them is proof of wimmin's (in this case Pink's wife) hedonism, selfishness and faithlessness: in short, their basic evilness. It is interesting to note that while men are encouraged by this film to cut the strings which tie them to their mothers in the name of self-preservation, for wimmin to cut loose from destructive relationships is deemed immoral, being interpreted in the context of sexual promiscuity.



- 3) It is not only, however, the independent sexuality of wimmin as wives and lovers which threatens and destroys men in 'The Wall'. That overworked old myth of wife as nagger also plays a significant part. It is quite clearly reasoned in this film that men are driven to repressive practices by the perpetual nagging of their wives at home. The school teacher in 'The Wall' for example, who beats his children daily - and is finally destroyed by them for doing so - is only taking out his frustrations on his class after being constantly verbally lashed by his wife. Again, the woman is ultimately to blame. Despite the fact that the image of wimmin as 'fish-wives' who drive their husbands to their graves has been flogged almost to death, it seems that it is still used to great effect.

- 4) Finally, in addition to presenting an array of basic evils inherent in the various categories of womanhood featured in this film, 'The Wall' also contains a series of very colourful and complex graphics which serve as the climax for the misogynist theme throughout. As the film progresses, the interspersed graphics become more powerfully and explicitly sexual - usually featuring disembodied vaginas and penises in the guise of 'plants' and naked female bodies which are sometimes contorted and distorted almost beyond recognition. In one of the graphics a vagina is cleverly transformed into a huge and evil serpent (again a sexual image) who proceeds to chastise and terror-

ise the young Pink into submission as he attempts to find an escape from the wall surrounding him. In all others, with only one exception, the images of fucking involve the vagina engulfing the penis - violently and quickly - with the united whole becoming an unquestioningly evil beast. It is the vagina which is very clearly the seducer and aggressor in these scenes, during which it grows to a size far greater than the penis and finally overpowers and apparently destroys it.

Not only do these graphics affirm the destructive power and evil of female sexuality which is conveyed by the live characters in the film, but, in the process it totally denies the oppression of wimmin by men via the act or threat of rape - an act which cannot be performed by wimmin upon men because of the very nature of the gender relations institutionalised in our society.

All in all, 'The Wall' has not just ignored, but has actually denied the reality of wimmin's universal oppression. It has taken, in what I see to be a major theme, the one area in which wimmin are depicted to be more powerful than men - their ability to sexually seduce and control men - and blown this up out of all proportion to present a view of wimmin as the source of all human evil and suffering and the principal cause of masculine alienation and destruction.

My major objection to this portrayal, however, is not that it has magnified or dramatised an idea to create a 'larger than life' image (this is after all what art is about) but rather, that the initial premise is totally wrong. Wimmin have *no* power in the arena of sexuality. As yet they have not even been able to gain sexual self-determination, let alone control men's. If they could, pornography would not consist of the imposition of male sexual fantasies upon wimmin, fantasies which physically and psychically destroy wimmin in the process. The whole portrayal of gender relations in 'The Wall' is false, distorted, ideologically very unsound and politically dangerous. This film is misogynist because it reinforces almost all of men's most cherished and powerful myths about the nature of femininity - myths which guarantee wimmin's oppression for the very reason that they bestow upon wimmin power which they do not in reality possess.

ANU LEFT LEADS AUS DOWN THE PRIMROSE PATH OF DALLIANCE

In writing this report we hope to increase awareness of the Australian Union of Students, of which the ANU Students' Association is a part, and the policies that it has adopted. We hope to prompt more students into becoming involved in AUS either by taking part in elections for delegates to the Annual Council and other conferences or by becoming involved in AUS campaigns. We would like to see more people standing as candidates for delegate and attending conferences as observers.

Annual Council is the policy making body of AUS. This year Council was held in Canberra (having been held in Melbourne for the last nine years) from January 15 to 22. It was attended by approximately 100 delegates with 150 hangers-on (official observers and guests of Council). There were five delegates from ANUSA; Bill Redpath, Jane Connors and John Buchanan were the Left delegates. We also had a large contingent of observers.

This year saw a moderation at AUS; there was not, however, an accompanying moderation in policies. It also saw shifts in the balance of power within the dominant Left. There was the midnight protest outside the Malaysian High Commission and the first all-night session of Council for four years. (They tried the night before as well, but the will to continue had disintegrated — along with coherent debate — at 3.30am). Council was very interesting and even exciting, but we were both dissatisfied with some aspects.

Although, as Liberal Students, we were not privy to all the interaction between the various left-wing factions, we found the political manoeuvring fascinating. Perhaps the most significant development was the collapse early in the week of the 'Broad Left' as a cohesive political grouping. The Broad Left was comprised of Communist Party of Australia (CPA) Students with fellow travellers and left-wing ALP students, (this group was usually called the 'ALP' although there were other groups at council would normally be covered by this designation. The Broad Left controlled the two previous councils, the CPA the senior partner in '81, but the ALP stronger in '82. The break between the CPA and the ALP was primarily due to an increase in ALP numbers so that theoretically they had an outright majority on the floor of council. There was a corresponding decrease in CPA numbers. It was widely held that as the ALP no longer needed Communist support, they had decided to destroy the influence of the CPA in AUS once and for all. Deciding that they had no future with the ALP the communists seemed to move into an informal alliance with another extremist group, the 'Socialists', that being the name by which the reformed 'Radical', 'Ultra', or 'Suicidal' Left likes to be known. (The implication seems to be that none of the rest are really socialists.) To avoid confusion, we will use the name 'Radical Socialists'. Among the most prominent members of this group is the ANU Left, particularly John Buchanan and Bill Redpath.

Although the mainline ALP grouping was supposed to have the numbers it soon became apparent that there was dissatisfaction in the ranks with 'moderate' line of ALP leaders such as Paul Carrick (AUS President '81 and '82) and Julia Gillard (Education Vice President '82 and President this year). Paul Carrick, a full-time student politician for the past few years, was described by some of his critics as a 'sell-out merchant' and 'more conservative that you [the Liberal Students] are'. (This, apparently, is a cutting insult.) His principal concern did appear to be the acquisition of a safe ALP seat in Federal Parliament. Carrick's 'moderation' or 'conservatism' can be summed up in the

paraphrase 'I agree with everything that our comrades in the Socialist caucus [i.e. the Radical Socialists] are saying. I just think that it should be expressed in language which won't alienate students and make AUS appear moderate'. We certainly agree with the complaint about the prose to be found in Radical Socialist motions (to take one sentence, admittedly out of context, from an ANU Left motion: 'As a unit of knowledge, disciplines are mystifying, having more of an administrative rather than epistemological justification'), but we were not very im-

Left-wing ALP 43%
Combined Right
- Centre Unity
- Liberal 18%
- NCC

With the great majority enjoyed by the Left, it was not unreasonable to expect that few motions proposed by the Right would be adopted as policy. This is not to say that our motions should have been rejected out of hand, and that they are not worth considering. The regularity with which motions and amendments proposed by the Right were contempt-

A Report on the 1982 Annual Council of the Australian Union of Students by Liberal delegates Glenn Phillips and Karen Gibson.

ressed with the implication that Carrick wanted to hide the real intent of motions. As the week progressed, more and more people moved from the ALP to the Radical Socialist camp until with the help of the CPA, Radical Socialist motions were regularly defeating motions supported by the ALP leadership. It seems that the ALP leadership made a serious tactical mistake in allowing members of caucuses, especially the Socialist caucus into ALP caucus meetings and then not enforcing discipline. This allowed Radical Socialists John Buchanan in particular, to attack the leadership's control from within.

The other main groupings at Council were Centre Unity (which contained a Democrat element), a social democratic grouping which is an ALP faction in normal circumstances, the National Civic Council (NCC) students who are both economic and social conservatives, and the Liberals. These three groups were branded the 'Right', over the protests of Centre Unity. Unfortunately, the combined vote for these groups was only very small.

Going by voting in the Executive election, the respective voting strengths for the various groups were —

Communist 20%
Radical Socialist 19%

uously voted down after the least possible 'debate' and without the smallest indication that the objective merits of the proposal had been considered was both frustrating and disgusting.

This was the case even when motions were carefully couched in the best Leftist rhetoric or were old Left motions taken straight from last year's policy volume. Some speakers against Right motions would grudgingly admit the motion in question had some merit or even that they substantially agreed with it but would then jump at any excuse for condemning it; sometimes it was claimed that the subject matter had already been covered in earlier motions (when clearly it had not been, at least not in depth) or that there was some minor defect in emphasis or expression. These speeches would be greeted with loud applause when the proposing speeches had received only scattered applause coming exclusively from the right. Such motions would then be voted down without any attempt to amend the offending section. An example of this is the treatment dished out to one NCC motion. To say that the Left and the NCC have their differences is, perhaps, an understatement. But whether the Left likes it or not, they are concerned with many of the same things. This

motion condemned pornography because it is degrading and exploitative. The motion was written carefully to avoid offending Leftist sensibilities and even used feminist terminology. The speakers in favour were careful to keep away from inflammatory arguments and the speakers against spent most of their time agreeing with it. It was voted down by a huge majority, just because it was an NCC motion.

On some occasions the Right was not even given the opportunity to give the briefest outline of their arguments. During the vitally important debate on the basic education platform the Left, led by Bill Redpath, pushed through a procedural motion which resulted in fourteen right-wing amendments, covering all aspects of education policy, being debated and voted on together. In this circumstances, the Right felt justified in using the Standing Orders to disrupt the proceeding of Council in protest. In fact, we felt we had to do this here, and in all other similar circumstances, to discourage future attempts at gagging debate.

Certainly there are a number of areas where the Right violently disagree with the Left and where the motions of one will be uncompromisingly opposed by the other. But surely, students can only benefit if the two sides work together in those areas where there is substantial agreement. In this regard, the behaviour of the Left was highly unreasonable. One began to wonder if they really came to help students.

Another aspect of Council which was unsatisfactory was the lack of debate within the Left which, after all, had over 80 percent of votes. Although members of the Left moved amendments to and had other motions foreshadowed against a number of Left propositions, the vast majority of motions were not assessed critically on the floor of council and were passed in their original form. Whatever debate there was within the Left on these motions must have taken place in caucuses where the Right was unable to have any input.

As to the policy itself, there is a distressing lack of realism and a tendency to be simplistic in much of what was adopted. There is also, unfortunately, a disregard for the fundamental principles upon which our liberal democracy is based. In almost all areas, massive increases in government spending with the elimination of current restrictions on eligibility to assistance is advocated without any consideration of the cost of priorities.

Although this year's education policy is a lot more reasonable, the assumption is still made that money can solve all problems. Little attention is paid to community attitudes in determining the number of people who seek enrolment at tertiary institutions; it seems an increase in TEAS will solve all problems of access. The question of how to improve the quality of lecturers and academic courses is hardly addressed — unless you believe all will be cured by the abolition of competitive assessment (to be replaced by self and group assessment) and the introduction of a greater critical content into courses together with non-sexist, truly multicultural curriculum. Judging by AUS policy, there is something wrong with university courses which teach knowledge which could be useful in business and industry (that is, useful to 'capitalism'). This type of practical knowledge does not seem to be valued very highly by AUS as unlike 'critical perspectives' it does not promote rebellion (or perhaps its 'revolution') against the status quo. Of particular interest is a call by AUS, at the prompting of the ANU Law School Action Group, for the abolition of all compulsory subjects in law courses and an end to the quota system. A 'commitment to study and learning', regardless of academic achievement or ability, is advocated as the only criterion for admission to and continued enrolment at a law school.

ANU STUDENTS SAVED \$25,000 BY LIBERALS WHILST LEFT RAISES FEES BY 25%

by Philip Walker

At the Australian Union of Students Annual Council Liberal students successfully moved two motions which will have the effect of saving ANU students \$25,000. In contrast, the same evening saw the ANU Left led by the Students' Association President, Bill Redpath, support a motion which will substantially raise AUS affiliation fees, lifting the cost to ANU students to \$17,000 each year.

The ANU Students' Association is at present affiliated with the AUS but is legally prevented from paying its subscription by the *Australian National University Act*. Whilst it cannot be paid the debt is not abrogated by the Act. Should the relevant section of the legislation ever be repealed, as a Labor Government would be likely to do, the accumulated debt would immediately become payable. In these circumstances the AUS could take the ANUSA to court to recover the money. Ex-Association President Gary Humphries estimated the accumulated debt at \$25,000.

Motions sponsored by local Liberals, Glenn Phillips, Gary Humphries and Philip Walker writing off this debt were passed just a few hours before the close of Council. Although he eventually supported these motions, President Bill Redpath had declined when approached earlier to move or second the suspension of standing orders needed to bring the matter before Council. Clearly intense pressure was being placed on the ANU Left with regard to these motions by

their radical colleagues from other campuses. When the vote on one of the motions was declared carried, Bill Redpath was called a 'scab' by several Left-wing members of Council, notably communists Ken McAlpine (1982 Executive Member) and Tina Nightingale (1982 Women's Officer). In eventually choosing to support the motions, Bill Redpath was no doubt mindful of the promise he made during the 1982 AUS Affiliation Referendum that AUS would indeed abrogate the debt.

AUS will, however, soon be slugging ANU students in another way. Council approved an increase in affiliation fees of 25%. This will mean an increase after inflation of between 10% and 15%. Because of this ANUSA will soon be acquiring new debts at the rate of approximately \$17,000 a year. ANU Liberal Delegates Karen Gibson and Glenn Phillips were unsuccessful in an attempt to limit the increase to 15%. This attempt was made because increases in the income of constituent organisations have been outstripped by increases in AUS fees in recent years. Other Liberals suggested during the debate on these motions that AUS could best increase its revenues by moderating its policies in order to make AUS more attractive to the 50% of Australian tertiary students who are NOT members of the Union.

ANU Left delegates Bill Redpath, Jane Connors and John Buchanan supported the full 25% increase.

The tone of the women's motions was much less provocative than in previous years. Gone are many of the quotable quotes which made these motions such interesting reading. AUS is still asserting that rape is not just a sexual crime but a tool of political control exercised by men over women. Because of this, it is asserted that all men benefit from rape. AUS is also promoting exploration of 'alternatives to exclusively genital sexuality'. It should be noted that the objectives of the Women's Department are broadly supported by the Right, but the Marxist/Feminist analysis contained in many of the motions with the frequent assertion that 'capitalism', that is the current economic system, can only work properly or works more effectively if women and minority groups are oppressed, we strongly dispute. We also consider many of the proposed methods for solving the problems they see rather imprudent, the Women's Department's predilection for Marxist analysis would seem to be counter productive and divisive. Many people have come to the similar conclusions without relying on Marxism, an analysis of society not distinguished by a respect for objective reality.

It is interesting to note that in the national affairs session, Council adopted a second list of objectives relating to education funding as AUS's demands for the Federal election campaign. The demands on this second list are significantly lower and more reasonable than those made in the education policy. These objectives are very similar to those proposed by the Right in amendments to the basic education platform. Why does AUS need two different sets of demands and why are proposals by the Right which were not even considered worthy of proper debate adopted elsewhere in AUS policy.

Finally, there are the results of the elections. With the assistance of the Right, Julia Gillard was elected President and Gail Sansakta was elected Education Vice President. This second election was very close. Both are members of the Left-wing ALP group. Of the twelve Members of the General Executive, five are from the ALP Left-wing, three are Radical Socialists, the sympathies of two lie with the CPA, one is from Centre Unity and the last is a Liberal. Even though the President has a vote on the Executive, the ALP does not have a majority by itself. Given the differences between the ALP and the informal CPA/Radical Socialist alliance, the two Right-wingers might have a larger say in policy this year.

Two of the Radical Socialist Members of the Executive, Bill Redpath and Jane Connors, are from ANU. We would like to congratulate Bill and Jane as well as John Buchanan who we helped win a junket to Europe.

Glen Phillips + Karen Gibson



LEFT BLOOMS

AUS ANNUAL COUNCIL 1983

It is very difficult to explain an AUS Annual Council to someone who has never attended one. Most of us found that as the eight consecutive 20-hour days passed, that our awareness of, or even interest in, the Outside World, dropped away to almost zero level. We shared three meals a day with people we had never seen before, some of them became close friends, some of them opponents — and most of them we'll probably never see again. Council had its boring times, its tense and exciting times and was occasionally even very funny.



Because Council was held at the ANU, we had lots of people come along as observers and our table was always the fullest and the busiest. ANU was generally very prominent at Council. Glenn Phillips, and several of our other Liberals moved and spoke to several motions. The ANU Left people moved and spoke to many motions. You'll be interested to know that the ANU generally is regarded as pretty weird by people from other campuses. The Western Australian students in particular thought of us *all* (that means you too) as strange, superintellectual creatures who are probably all proceeding straight to PhDs. They also imagined us rolling in money and it was hard to explain that we're actually one of the lowest funded Student Associations.

But onto the operation of Council— Council is where representatives from all of AUS's member campuses get together to debate and pass the union's policy for the year. We also pass the year's budget and motions about the administration of the union. Motions are divided into these sections:

- Administration and finance
- Constitution, Regulations and structure
- Education
- Media
- Women
- Student unionism
- National affairs
- International affairs.

For each section there is supposed to be one or more sessions of Council where the motions, sent in by students in advance, are debated. This year it was decided to also have a 'commission' for each section — that is a session used to sort out all the motions and any amendments, take speakers lists, and generally streamline everything ready for debate. For a large number of reasons, these commissions didn't work (except of course the one organised by the Women's Caucus) and they were very frustrating and time consuming. For this reason there wasn't as much time as we would have liked for debate later on.

That's the formal side of Council. Its other side is the Caucuses —

The most right-wing Caucus is the National Civic Council. The NCC spends a great amount of money every year trying to destroy any progressive developments in Australian education.

NCC students at Council (there aren't many of them!) put out many expensive leaflets on a wide range of issues. Some of them were fairly bizarre — their leaflet on childcare stated for a fact that children put into government childcare would develop 'arteriosclerotic brain conditions' as a consequence!!

Next come the Liberal Students and the Centre Unity. Centre Unity students are members of the ALP. The kindest thing to say about them is it is very difficult to work out what they are saying — except that they don't like AUS. If there were any Democrats at Council they were keeping very quiet.

Over on the Left (by far the bulk of the numbers as they represent by far the bulk of Australian students) are people, in the ALP who are clustered around the current national officers, Julia Gillard and Gayle Sansakta, the immediate past President Paul Carrick, and several other 'heavies'. More about them later. A number of delegates were either members of the Communist Party of Australia, or people sympathetic to them. But perhaps the most interesting development of Council (caucus-wise) was the emergence of a strong grouping called the 'Socialist Caucus'. Most of the ANU Left were part of this Caucus. As most of us are members of the ALP, many of us also attended the nightly ALP Caucus but as we were often dissatisfied with what occurred there, we were up early the next morning to meet separately.

Basically, the Socialist Caucus believes that AUS leadership, its paid officers, should spend its time and resources finding out what students on campuses are involved in, and providing them with support. We feel that the national officers in Melbourne have become prone to deciding on a campaign and sending out material without consulting the activists and the students who are going to distribute it and talk to other students about it. We are worried that AUS will lose support unless it ensures that democratic participation in decision making is kept open. AUS must never develop a leadership which is out of touch with the needs and aspirations of rank and file members and take care that minority and oppressed groups are able to have a full say in the Union.



Unlike the 'leadership' ALP people who think that the union should constantly be moderate and apologise for itself, we think that it is important that AUS be involved in all forms of political activity. Why? Because students are involved in feminist groups, environmentalist groups, peace campaigns etc. The union should provide support and co-ordination and should also disseminate information for those activities.

And lastly, one of our biggest differences — education. Which is natural, in an education union. Don't believe the NCC who would tell you that the Left in AUS is more concerned with the PLO than with education. Unlike the right-wing, we don't believe that students are boxed off in their own little universities and that they are unaffected by what happens in the outside real world.

We are directly affected and that is why it is appropriate for us to have policy on national and international matters. But, unquestionably, the top priority, is education and it was the education debate which was one of Council's best and most important.

The Socialist Caucus feels that AUS has been too preoccupied with the question of access to tertiary education and has therefore run all its campaigns on fees, loans TEAS, closures etc. These are vitally important and must be continued. But the union's approach has been to get as many people in as possible — never to question **What they are getting into**. Our tertiary institutions have got a lot wrong with them. Consequently we moved a lot of motions about assessment, curriculum and campus decision making procedures, and how they can affect students' lives. We were opposed by the leadership ALP — some we won, some we lost.



The other major caucus was the Women's caucus which met every lunchtime and was attended by all the feminists at Council. We talked about the major issues concerning women on campuses and organised the Women's Commission and plenary sessions. Both these and the Caucus itself worked very well.

At Council, the constituent fee was raised from \$2.80 to \$3.50 for all members of the campus organisation that is affiliated to AUS. We supported this move for many reasons, but for two major ones. Firstly, so the union can continue to operate. All the union activities, and particularly its valuable research, cost money. The increase is necessary to support current effectiveness. Secondly, in 1981 AUS was instrumental (as admitted by Senator Brian Harradine and leading academic organisations) in the blocking of fees legislation put before the Senate. It fought again in 1982, and if necessary will fight again in 1983. \$3.50's worth of protection against thousands of dollars worth of fees is definitely worth it.

Lastly, you'll probably be wanting to know about AUS policy which is too diverse to be gone into here. The 1983 Policy document containing all the motions we passed at Council will arrive in the Students' Association Office soon. In the meantime come in and ask any questions about policy, about regional conferences, about regional media collectives, etc. Bill Redpath and Jane Connors are both on the Union's National Executive. Sally Skyring is the SA's AUS Secretary. We, and all the other people who attended Council will be glad to see you. It's your union — come and find out about it.

Jane Connors
Bill Redpath
John Buchanan
(ANU Left Delegates
at 1983 AUS Council)

SCANLAN



We reproduce artist Ian Sharp's study of Bill Ginnane acting the part of 'Scanlan'.

Dr (?) Scanlan, Barry Oakley's already legendary failed academic, will be exposing himself in Studio I at the Arts Centre for eight lunch-time performances (Tuesday 22nd to Friday 25th March and Monday 28th to Thursday 31st March from 1.05 to 1.55) and two late afternoon performances (Wednesday 30th and Thursday 31st March from 5.30pm to 6.20pm). Admission: \$2.50

\$1.50 (students and other concessionaries)

Scanlan's bizarrely eccentric lecturing style has to be seen to be credited.

The following statements from people with intimate knowledge of Scanlan may help to prepare intending viewers for this extraordinary spectacle.

Mrs Margaret Scanlan: 'He is a typical middle-aged academic for whom seminars are simply pretexts to hone in on the nearest attractive female, follow her scent, stalk her behind the tea-urn, fall upon her in a shower of sugar cubes and biscuits.'

Dr Efreem Sachs (psychoanalyst): 'He is a classic case of arrested development and reversion to infantilism. He compensates for his failure by the consolatory paranoid obsession that he is the victim of malevolent academic enemies.'

He is a compulsive fantasist, seeing his dreams fulfilled — and his foes routed — in the mirrors of his mind.'

We print here an item, relevant to Dr Scanlan, which was inadvertently omitted from the 1983 Counter Course Handbook.

Course 3B: Australian literature of the 20th Century.

12 students reducing to 3
1 response to questionnaire.

'Lectured for the entire year on Henry Kendall (died 1879). Failed to give several tutorials after falling down steps of A.D. Hope building. Cause of fall not definitely established but suspicions abound. Seemed to have recurrent difficulties with pot-plants and mirror in seminar room. Grade: Withdrawn.'

Dr H.H. Grigsby, MA, Lit. D., Reader in English comments 'Dr Scanlan has laboured for many years on his research which has so far failed to elicit significant response. I trust it will very shortly.'

I am aware that some students have complained of Dr Scanlan's lecturing technique but I do not feel able to comment. I must confess I do not find his barbecuing style completely satisfactory. Some might think that his taste in poetry, like his taste in claret is primitive.

CALLING C.A.D.S.

'CADS' is the Campus Amateur Dramatic Society. Or, at least, it is sometimes. It depends, you see, on interested, keen, patient, hard-working people to survive. Its existence is a tenuous year-to-year proposition.

In past years, CADS has had increasingly successful major productions — 'No Exit' (Sartre), 'The Real Inspector Hound' (Stoppard), 'Inner Voices' (Nowra), 'The Homecoming' (Pinter) and last year 'Hedda Gabler' (Ibsen). As can be seen, it's all been fairly conventional theatre. There's no reason ventures can't be made into improvisation, workshops more political theatre, street theatre — who knows? All it needs is motivators. One problem this year is that the core of people who've kept CADS kicking — the prime CADS, perhaps — won't or can't be too active this year. Hence, fresh faces required. Funds are fairly healthy, so anyone keen on any aspect of the theatre should come to Union Bridge, Wednesday, March 16 at 7.30 pm to take advantage of the situation, have a yarn to old CADS and become new ones.

Michael Seward

EURIPIDES

I identify with Euripides, until this identification becomes a prison, with dew-drops on the bars — could I but drink the wine of the dew! There is no movement here, only flowers in elegant paralysis, and my prison-warders nod at me wistfully, as though they knew already what escape might mean.

— R.E. McArthur

ADDRESSING OF PERSONAL MAIL

Will ALL students having mail addressed to the University please ensure that it states the name of the building or office as well as ANU PO Box 4, Canberra 2600.

This will assist the Mail Room and make certain that your personal mail does not go astray.

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QUALITY AND SERVICE AT THE RIGHT PRICE

The Dragon of Ares

The Dragon of Ares is the latest production from Fools Gallery. It is innovative, powerful and committed theatre about war. The language is entirely composed of excerpts from the plays of Euripides: what is done with and beyond the language is a collective product of Fools' workshop process. Fools have their own rather distinctive approach to theatre. A Canberra-based company, they have been working since 1980 on 'Images from the Background', "a series of theatre pieces that deal with the ways people are conditioned by cultural myths which create and continue the destructively separate roles of men and women in our society". For Fools Gallery, making a play is political work. they have strong feminist commitment, they are into collectivity (no 'stars'): they have also got big problems with funding cuts.

The aims and politics of Fools are clear, and important. This is no politics-in-the-silences-while-you're-not-looking. It's important that *Dragon* opens with a man crying, that the female actors are as active/strong as the male actors, etc.; an intention to demythify, and disrupt where necessary.

Questions about theatre itself are important too. In one scene of *Dragon*, the chanting of the story of Cadmus and the dragon changes into a playful rather than a meaningful activity (entertainment): the political significances of this central myth slip out of sight. Self-reflexive, we might say *Dragon* warns us against any Art that forgets its Politics.

The body of this review was written after the first Canberra performance of *The Dragon of Ares*. We took it in turns to write sentences, responding to each others' ideas, evolving our own conceptions. It may seem self-indulgent. It also seemed to us, on reflection, rather remote from the play: the intellectuality of our writing seems ludicrously inappropriate to the emotional power of the play. What, then, are we doing, writing a review? Why 'investigate our responses'. Our reaction could be said simply: 'great play, recommended'.

We have the possibility here of a critique of criticism. A training in the English Department (suffering from the 'isolation-from-reality' which is one problem with universities) may produce a student who, when confronted with a literary text, unconsciously executes a review (an essay) without audience, context or purpose (other than that of expounding as such: the pleasure of one's own voice). Certainly, there may be involvement, passionate and far-reaching consideration of the work and the response: but in a way that response doesn't know where it's going, why it's going there. So: we admit to having been English students, two of us for a long time. 'Who are we writing for' is complicated by our life-

REVIEW OF THE DRAGON OF ARES



Fools Gallery: *The Dragon of Ares*.
Wednesday to Saturday, till March 1stth
8.30pm Childers St. Hall
Bookings: 49 8810

times of non-co-operative education, i.e. the traces of competitive intellectuality. Apparent sophistication often participates in the culture of anti-emotionality, losing contact with emotional authenticity. So, resistance to our 'incomprehensibility' is an important and valid response.

If the first paragraphs seem strange/pretentious/self-indulgent, persevere: it gets better. Play with the writing, dance with it maybe. You don't have to take it too seriously.

*What I enjoyed was watching the ways I could watch the play. Was it possible to watch it with critical distance? Did the imaginative projection required mean that I was, in fact, watching passively? Was it a problem that I was conscious of these questions while watching? Critical distance and imaginative projection are by no means incompatible though: the capacity to discover different levels of meaning flowing largely through some sort of 'will' of the reader. While I was 'interpreting' (a complex sort of 'making sense': Fools Gallery are into non-objective anti-narrative, your understanding must needs twist and turn, in no sequence or logic, but revelling in the metaphoric and the symbolic, in 'metaphoricity') I was right in there. Emotionality is the register, and power is the subject. Power, of men and of women, as well as the glorification and actual effects of men's wars, are part of the 'subject', but beyond the more obvious political consciousness I also enjoyed the play's resistance to closing its meaning off. Another field of meaning was quite reflective of the political nature of popular narrations (like myths) and literary productions (like Euripides - and reminders, for me, of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles - even 'What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?'). *The Dragon of Ares* uses excerpts from Euripides. Familiar stories may be read or performed 'against the grain' (there being no grain other than that of prior institutionalised performances/readings. i.e. that induced by Dominant Culture, i.e. on the one hand 'our' Anzac myths, 'our' histories of rape-in-war, and on the other hand how-to-read-a-Greek-play (lesson 1, forget politics, courtesy which of 'our' English teachers?)). It was pleasurable to recognise echoes of other plays - that's one of the ways in which it was more pleasurable (easier?) than other Fools' productions. It was more possible to go out and play. See one Fools production, never miss another (well I wouldn't): seen five now - all profound staggering draining disturbing plays. You can get freaked out. And why not. War is pain, grief, desolation and suffering. Hatred, nationalism, patriarchy, vengeance and power form a 'madness' which produces intolerable pain. *Dragon* is appropriately not simply 'tolerable'.*

Yet despite the portrayed intolerance, it was possible to contemplate desolation - nuclear war facing us - because of the fictionalisation. The calling upon myth and fiction in Greek works distanced some of what we saw. Did this make it easier on us?

It seemed strange to write 'hatred' earlier: though hatred is a big part of the violence and culture-of-violence which are central to life-as-we-know-it. I don't think of 'hatred' when I think about nuclear war (which I do quite a bit). But 'war' involves those 60 conventional wars (of over 10,000 casualties each) since 1945, not just the cold war and its hand-in-hand ghost of the ultimate war without winners. Representation of the experience of war, then, takes us beyond the analysis of these wars (which might well hinge on 'imperialism'), in signifying what must be 'lived through'.

A voice (Euripides', Fools', yours/mine?) points to the garlands of blood for the Men of Valour in War. We might well shriek with horror as war is all around us. Metaphoricity unleashes this horror. *Actually, I don't think it was the 'metaphoricity' which was immediately moving. What struck me was being required to give up awareness of the fictionality of the play (these are people I know being actors acting distressed), and injecting immediacy into the representation. Another aspect, though, was that the play didn't just produce desolation - the singing, the sensuality, and the bond between the actors played a part - offered a positive. 'Also you forget about your bad day at work'. The prophetic Cassandra dances and chants: the dragon's teeth chant around 'I'm no insane beast - I'm a slave of Hellas' as they explode into death-and-violence-centred movement: victims attack each other: victims recognise and comfort each other: there is carnage and slaughter (also a lot of noise from throats, hands and feet, and dust everywhere).*

The play offers many pleasures: theatre/literature/poetry which is politically awakening; poetic language not lacking irony and self-mockery; extremely proficient acting; impressions of active, strong engrossing women; people we might know doing really great creative and political work. If you don't know these people, just get incredibly politically active and you might meet some great people, go to parties etc. etc. and eventually meet these Fools people! Well just get incredibly politically active anyway. In the right way of course. And if you're already feminist sympathetic, anti-power and anti-violence sympathetic: you'll really dig this play.

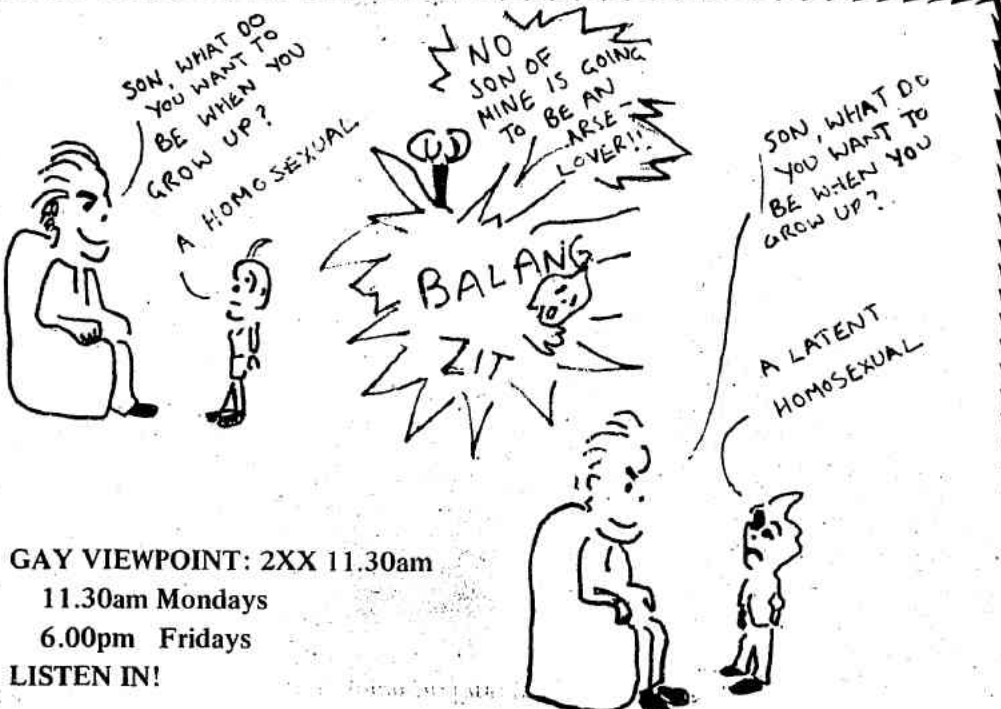
co-written by three people.

Rally for Peace.
We're marching on March 27th
War Memorial, 2pm, Palm Sunday

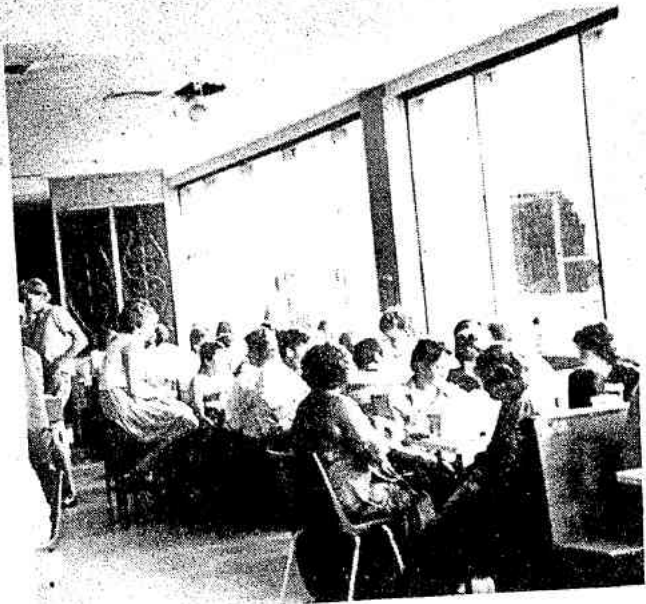
Theory Reading Group
If you're interested in theory of literary criticism (not just for English students) probably Friday 18th March,
Haydon-Allen G27, 1pm
(check the noticeboard outside the Students Assn in the Union)
We could discuss *The Dragon of Ares*, this review, the English critique in the Counter-Course Handbook, your favourite TV shows, your first lectures for the year or whatever!. First meeting for 1983, all students welcome.

GAYS ON CAMPUS
TUESDAYS 1pm
COUNSELLING CENTRE

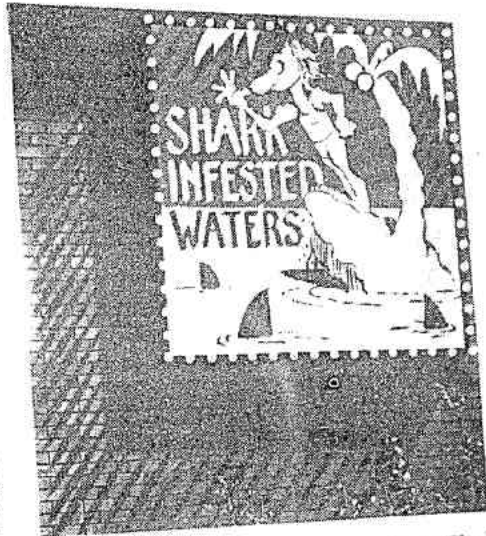
We are a group of gay men, lesbians and bisexuals with a variety of functions to cater to the needs of different people. Some of the main areas in which we are active are providing information on gay-related topics such as health, relationships, the legal situation, anti-discrimination and so on; giving support and help to people coming out or even just thinking about it; liaising with other campus groups like Women on Campus or the Students' Association on important projects like the recent anti-Sorrento campaign; and finally, providing venues for people to meet each other at social evenings and film nights that will be happening this year. We are not just a political group - new people are more than welcome to come along to our meeting and tell what they want to see happening in the group or even just to drop in, have a cup of coffee and watch.



GAY VIEWPOINT: 2XX 11.30am
11.30am Mondays
6.00pm Fridays
LISTEN IN!



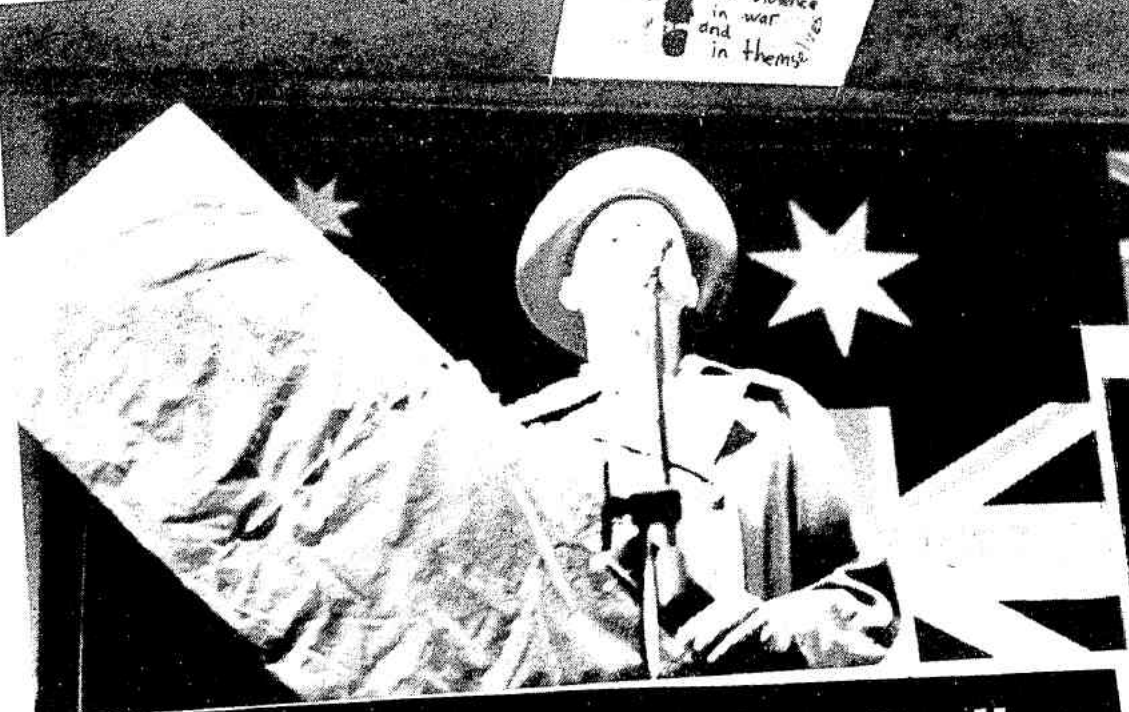
who moved the lake? ↘



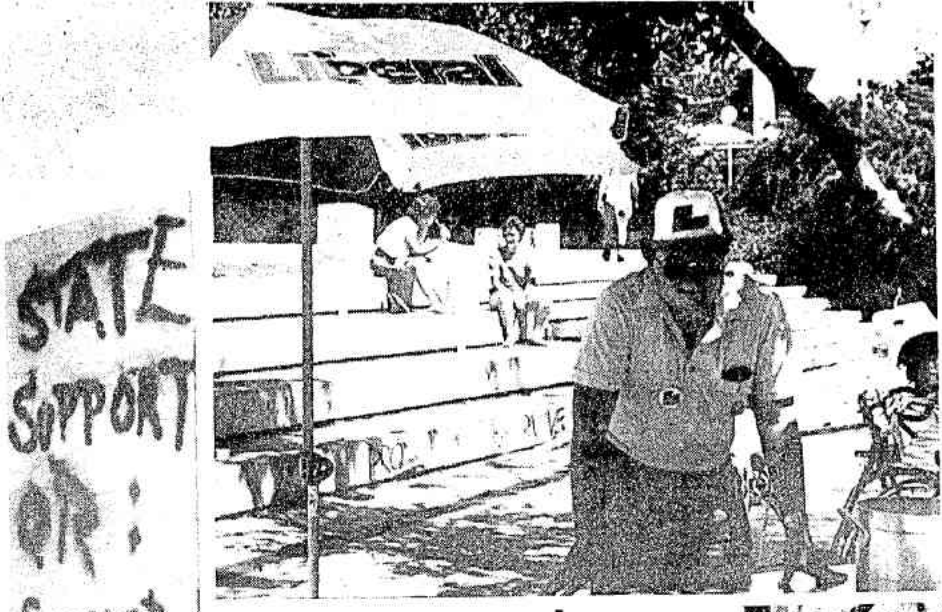
O!

IF YOU CANT VOTE FOR... IF YOU CANT VOTE FOR...
WHY VOTE IT ALL? WHY VOTE AT ALL?
GRAZED ISSUES WHY VOTE AT ALL? WHY VOTE AT ALL?

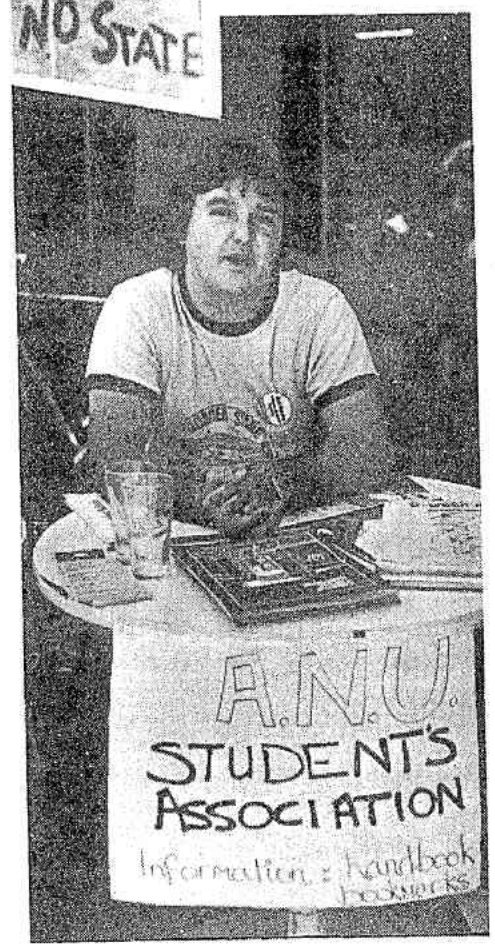
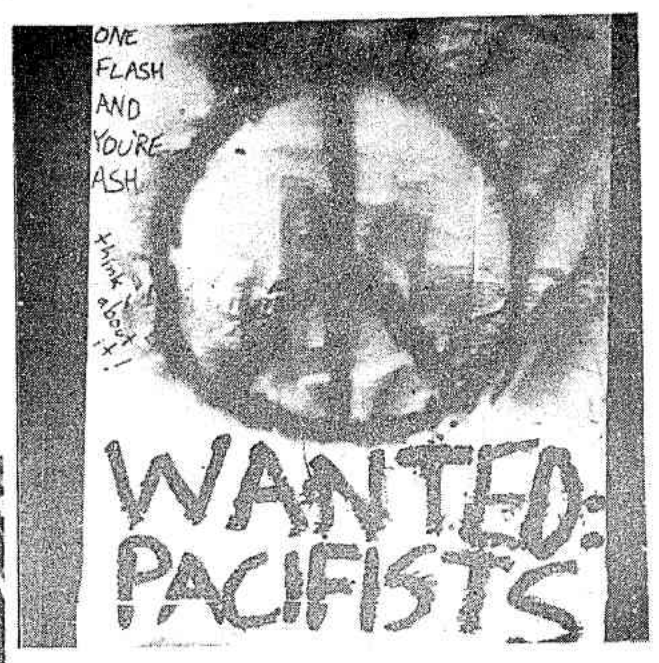
men must learn to confront the violence in war and in themselves



Flies on the Tea Trolley



← another Market Day hawker



market day

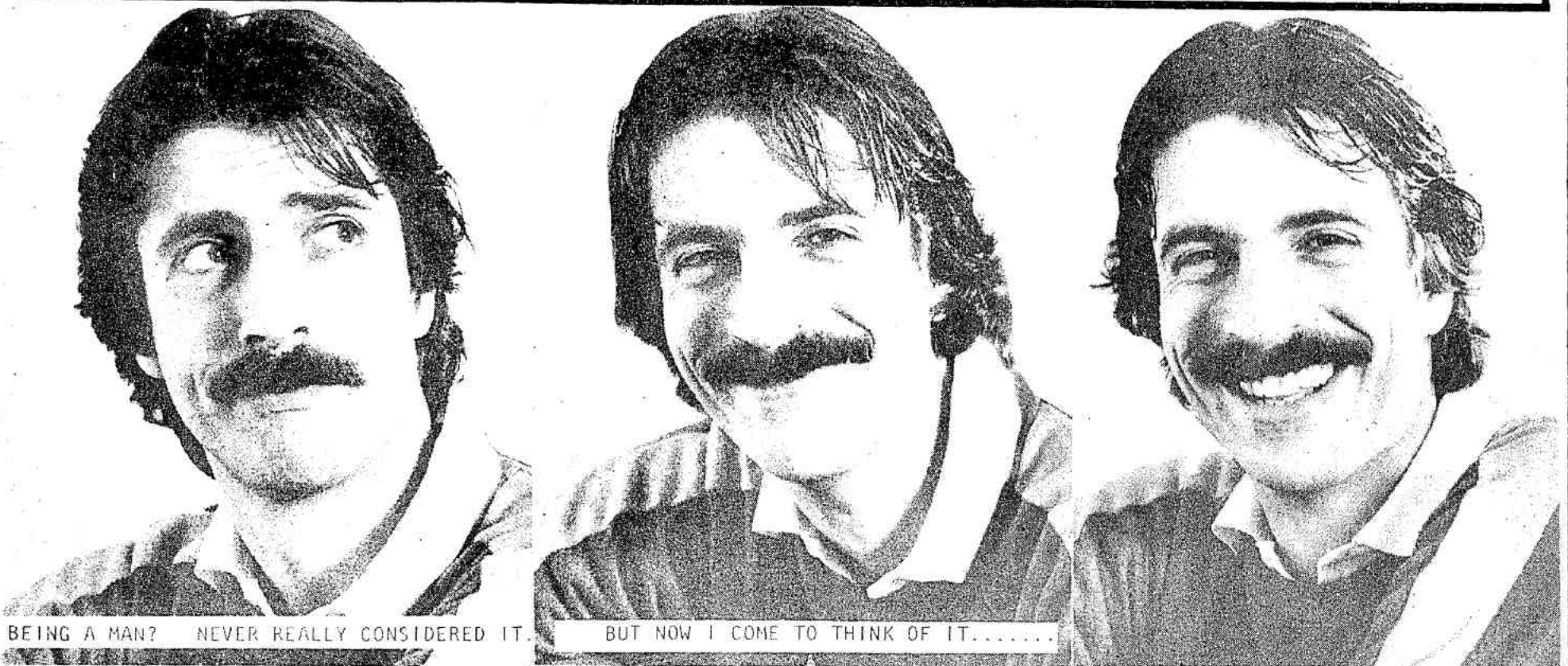
WEEK



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LIFE, THE UNIVERSE AND ALMOST EVERYTHING



EDITORIAL

Are you man enough to read about men? Well, you won't find out much about them in *Penthouse*, or *Cosmopolitan*, or *VFL Weekly*. So stick with this feature, you may learn something. If you're outraged, or overjoyed, or even overcome with indifference, then feel free to jam the switchboard with calls, write very long and witty articles in reply, alert the media, or whatever.

So what if the response to the last feature on 'Coming to Uni' and 'Co-counselling' wasn't exactly overwhelming. As an alternative to being inundated with telegrams, congratulations and rave reviews, the Editor received no letters at all. Still he is not discouraged (he likes sobbing hopelessly at his desk) — it's early days yet, and you readers are probably only half way through your cherished first issues of 'Woroni'. Actually I did receive several calls, so some of you clearly reached pages 28 and 29.

In the meantime, I will single-handedly keep up the excellent standard I set in the first issue, continuing to give you the kind of hard-hitting, useless facts that were its hallmark. Did you know that ten million Americans take Vitamin A every day, or that the film about the bombing of Pearl Harbour cost 10 times as much (\$9 million) as the real attack cost the Japanese (\$900,000). Well, there you have it. The rest of the page will be about men.

CONTRIBUTIONS:

Remember, if you have any ideas on the topics presented here, please write them down and send them to the Editor at the Counselling centre. Following this week's article perhaps you could send in your thoughts on the following, if you're a man:

- What's good about being a man?
- What's difficult about being a man?
- Suggestions for how things might be improved.

Finally, there is always a need for poetry, short stories, articles and so on, so please contribute.

Special Issue For MEN ONLY

The Difficulty in Writing About Men

It wasn't until I began, that I realised how hard it is to write about being a man. Now I know why there's an almost total lack of written material on men's experience. I wanted to write for men particularly, and those of them who may not have been interested in the past, and in a way that would make sense to them. Why is it so hard to write about friendship between men, about what's good or difficult about being male, about sexism and the way we relate to women? One reason has got to be because we never get asked the question 'What is it really like?'

I have tried to avoid words like oppression, sexism and discrimination because people generally stop thinking clearly when such words are used — rational discussions quickly turn into heated arguments and fights, because women feel angry and put down yet again, and men feel threatened and blamed. Nevertheless I have had to use these words because they describe what exists in reality.

Sexism for Beginners

Many men are not well informed about sexism, so here are a few details.

Sexism exists. It is the systematic mistreatment of people on the basis of the sex into which they were born, and so affects both men and women. Anything that leads to men and women being treated differently (other than because of their biological differences e.g. medical treatment) is sexism. With the exception of a few anatomical and hormonal differences, men and women are born with the same set of capabilities and emotions. We do not end up with the same set in adulthood though. What changes us is conditioning, by the system. More is known about the effects of this upon women than upon men, because women are more blatantly oppressed (politically and sexually) and they have been thinking about sexism and struggling against it for a long time. But men are oppressed too.

Men are oppressed by Sexism

No man needs to be told this, but it may be a relief to find out that yes, it's true. Men are oppressed in different ways from women, not sexually or politically, but as soldiers, as workers in dangerous occupations (down mines, as fishermen), and above all as emotional beings. It is this, the oppression of men's emotions, that is most pervasive, insidious, damaging and cruel. While it is men's equal responsibility to fight against sexism, no man should be blamed or made to feel guilty for the system he was born into.

What Sexism does to Men

Sexism starts very early to condition men, and continues at an increasing rate as they grow up — 'don't be a sook, big boys don't cry, pull yourself together, be a man!' etc. etc. It is not only the ability to express tears and sadness that's crushed, but also affection, tenderness, embarrassment and fear. Most men have great difficulty in showing these emotions, and carry around a great debt of unresolved feelings. It is moving to see a grown man cry because you know how hard they've been pushed to do so. It may also be embarrassing for men to see because it's a reminder of all those times they almost cried. Men often turn to drink, women too, in order to drink themselves into numbness. At least women seem to have freer emotional outlets and better support from each other.

Because space is limited, I have itemised some of the other effects of sexism on men:

- Sexism keeps men apart, emotionally and physically from women, as well as other men.
- Sexism drums into men that they have to be in control, initiate relationships, perform all the time, when really it would be a great relief if everyone did this equally.
- Sexism keeps men competitive and stops them from confiding in each other.

So it is in men's best interests for them to break down sexism, because they'll have better relationships with women and with men. One of the spin-offs of the women's movement is that women aren't so competitive amongst themselves and this has allowed them to become friends and good supports for each other. Now it is up to men, to start working on sexism, and go to each other for help and friendship, rather than always relying on women as the care-givers and nurturers.

A Few Guidelines for Men

- Treat people as people above all, not men or women first of all.
- Don't open doors just for women; that's sexist. Open doors for anyone, depending on who gets there first, whose arms are full; that's polite. Likewise, don't offer your seat to women, fix seatbelts etc. — that's reinforcing the myth that women are helpless, frail creatures.
- Don't call women 'chicks'. I mean would you like to be called an ocker? Perhaps you would, but that's your choice.
- Try and make other men aware of sexism and their sexist behaviour. This is not always easy or comfortable.

It's Good to be a Man

Just in case it sounds as if it's hell being a man, well it's not. Humans are stronger than conditioning and can overcome it; we do not need ever to stay in a victim role. As men become less sexist, they should not apologise for being men or give away any of their strength — it won't help anyone for them to become weak or apologetic. Men are strong physically and emotionally, in reality.

When I thought about what was good about being a man, I realised that when all the conditioning was stripped away, all that was left was our physique and an added physical strength. All the other good things were general to being human — being alive, being fit and healthy, being in love, being creative, having friends, sharing ideas and feelings and so on. I think this is because in the end men and

women are very alike — our similarities are much greater than our differences. In fact there is no living creature, that we know, that is more like a woman than a man, and vice versa. Sexism plays up our differences, because to put it crudely, it suits the system for women to be kept out of the paid workforce at home, and for men to go out and fight wars.

Australian Conditioning and Aussie Mateship

All the above has been about sexism as it exists in a patriarchal, Anglo-Saxon culture such as in Australia. There are cultures where men are brought up very differently and are much more freely and publicly emotional. In Australia however the stereotypes are strong — real men are not supposed to cry, hug each other, or eat quiche, but to hold large amounts of alcohol, drive hotted up Toranos, and talk about nothing but football and cars. But there is one way in which it is OK to relate, and that is as mates.

Much is talked about Aussie mateship — it is a fabled part of Aussie life. As a man who has lived in five cultures before Australia, I have never come across quite such a concept before, or the strength of feeling that surrounds it. Aussie mates are proud of the tradition of mateship — mates stick together, even die for each other, at least in 'Gallipoli' and '1915' they do.

Why is mateship so strong? Perhaps because it is the only culturally 'sanctioned' way for men to be friends. You can put an arm over a mate's shoulder without it being misunderstood. But underneath the drinking and back-slapping there's often a tension and rivalry which stops men from feeling relaxed and safe with each other. Before this can happen a great deal of embarrassment needs to be resolved.

Men Need Support

Well, if you've read this far, you must be at least vaguely interested in all this. Do men need support? Surely the whole world is already their support group. Well no, it isn't, and men do need support. One form of support might come from joining a group of other men to discuss the whole question. At least come along to the talk on Men's Support which is advertised below. In this setting you can find out about sexism, and not worry about 'getting it wrong' by saying something which is unintentionally sexist.

One word of caution finally. If any of this has struck a chord and you are feeling angry or hard done by as a man, don't go to a woman to let off steam. Don't go on about it to women because they are under no obligation to hear about men's struggle with sexism; they have enough of that to do themselves. They may choose to do so, and may be interested to know what it's like for men, but it's important that they have that choice. So, talk about it with other men — they'll probably be only too willing to listen.



'WHAT IS IT LIKE TO BE A MAN?'

A talk followed by discussion

If you have read the above article you probably have some interest in this topic. The talk will expand on what was written here, and will include suggestions for positive action. There will be enough time for discussion, when you can disagree or agree, ask questions, share any experiences you may have had.

The talk will be held in the Counselling Centre on Thursday March 17th at 1pm. If you have any questions, or if you are interested but cannot come to the talk, then please contact Neil Adams on extension 2442.

COMMUNICATION FOR COUPLES

Leila Bailey, Senior Counsellor in the Counselling Centre, will give a lunch-time talk at 12.30pm on Wednesday March 16 entitled 'But we're so different — how can we agree?' It will open up some of the difficulties which develop between people who associate closely with each other, whether or not they live together, and suggest ways to deal with them.

If there is sufficient interest, a training programme (once a week for four weeks during March-April) will be organised, in which communication skills will be taught.

Tea and coffee will be available at the Centre on March 16.

CO-COUNSELLING TALK

For those of you who may have missed the first talk on Co-counselling during O-Week, it is being repeated. If you don't already know what co-counselling is, read the short feature on it in the last 'Woroni' edition (page 29) or in the Orientation Handbook (page 23).

The talk will be on Friday March 18th from 12.30-2.00pm in the Counselling Centre. Anyone is welcome. If you can't come until 1.00pm because of lectures, don't worry, you can still walk in.

Come and find out about learning the skills of co-counselling. And if you can't make it on that day, contact Neil Adams at the Counselling Centre, or on extension 2442, anytime. As a result of the first talk, there is already a group of students that will be meeting regularly, so a second group will be set up. Please come along.

ANU SPORTS UNION ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Sports Union will be held in the University Union Refectory on Thursday 24th March 1983 commencing at 7.30pm

An agenda for the meeting will be available from the Sports Union office prior to the meeting. At the conclusion of the Annual General Meeting a small function will be held in the University Union Bistro, in honour of the recipients of the Blues, Half Blues and Sportsman of the Year Award for the 1982 sports seasons.

All members of the Sports Union are invited to attend the meeting and the function afterwards.

Philip G. Brodsky
Executive Officer

THE ANATOMY OF CREATIVE FORCES

Once the book is set aside
the inner resonances remain,
scalding through neuron and brain.
It makes new life from our own,
and faster than we realise
are breathing Conrad's humid archipelago
or leaning at the bar in Joyce's Dublin,
being Bloom. Self is abandoned,
we step into the hero's brogues.

We start affairs with quotes from Browning,
walking streets more watercolour than reality.
Farewelling love, we borrow from Tsvetaeva —
sad conversation, polite rain falling.
At times we outwit the writer,
creating new feelings, fresh sorrows.
Or so we think, until that mood
glares from long-forgotten pages ;
silvery Catullus, or Tolstoy's perfect music.

The Patriarchal Times

TO SERVE CAPITALISM AND THROUGH IT PATRIARCHY
ANYDAY, EVERYDAY, EVERYWHERE

STOP SEXUAL HARASSMENT



CONTENTS :

WOMEN FIGHT BACK

Sexual harassment is a continuing problem at ANU. Women's Group organise to fight back and combat this campus-wide problem.

FANG

Feminist Anti Nuclear Group will speak at the Nationwide Peace Rally March 27th (starts at War Memorial)

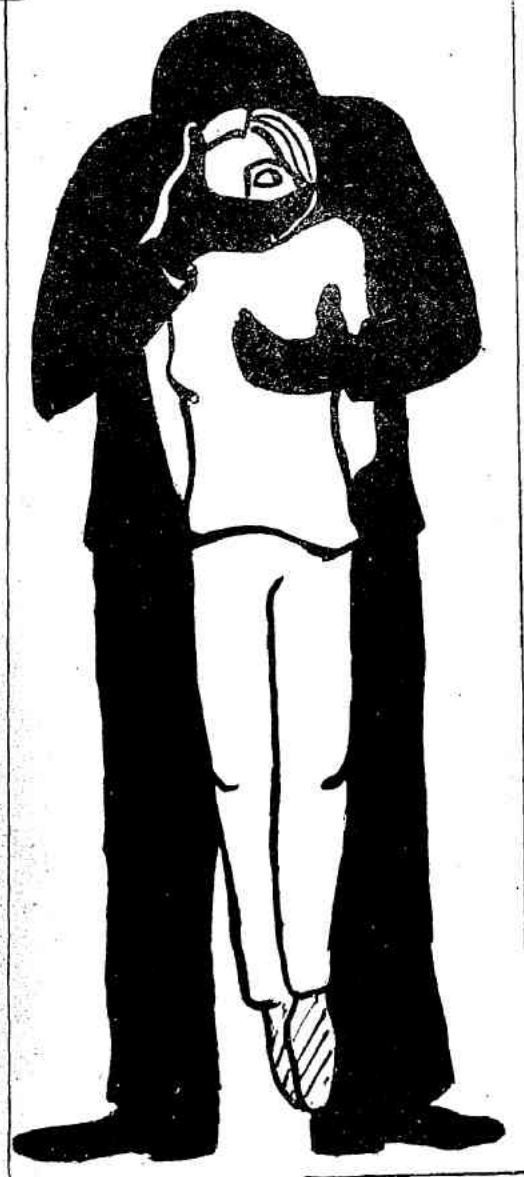
WOMENS PEACE

ACTION

- 30,000 women encircle site of cruise missile base in Greenham England

- 5,000 women march from Copenhagen to Paris

- 2,000 women encircle the pentagon for peace



LATE NEWS

Women On Campus meet
EVERY WED. 1:00pm
in the Womens Room

There's not a woman on an Australian campus who has not suffered some form of sexual harassment. At ANU as elsewhere the relation of women to male lecturers, tutors and employers often rests more on sexual assessment than upon the recognition of our work as students, workers, or researchers.

We are conditions to accept personal remarks, endearments and sexual suggestions as compliments. But when our breasts receive more attention than our words, and when we are constantly interrupted, and yet addressed as 'darling' or 'my dear', it is not a compliment. It belittles us as working and thinking beings.

Because men hold most of the positions of power within the university, our jobs and qualifications depend upon their approval. We have learned to expect that, as women we must dress or act so as to appear neither 'unattractive' nor 'sexually available'. Whether we pass or fail, all of us are subject to such an assessment, whether younger or older, whether student, secretary, postgraduate or refectory staff. We feel powerless to object to sexual treatment or to respond in kind. Because of this inequality in power the sexual appraisal and innuendos which we all experience are manifestations of sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment includes everything from sexual comments of word and look, and unwanted touching or suggestions to academic rape, where sex is demanded under threat of economic punishment (e.g. 'An A for a lay', or 'you could get the promotion . . .'). Most of us know of at least one lecturer who is known to be sexually involved with, or to harass, his female students. These are open secrets, yet, though it exists on all campuses, sexual harassment is unrecognized and surrounded by silence.

One reason for this is that the difference in power and prestige between, say, a well-known male professor and his first-year female student, becomes very real when it is her word against his. Even in clear incidences of academic rape, women are made aware of this inequity in power, and fear not only loss of marks and livelihood, but also legal reprisal, for libel or slander. Similarly, in cases of sexual harassment we are isolated by silence and mystification, made to feel unsure of our own perceptions. Like many women who have been raped, we expect to be, and are, dismissed as typically 'paranoid', 'hysterical', 'prudish', or 'malicious women out to destroy a good man's reputation'. We can expect that each incident of sexual harassment will reflect the general oppression of women, both inside and outside of the university.

Sexual Harassment may be defined as an instance in which the unequal relation of power between worker and employer, or student and academic (or for that matter between co-workers, or co-students) is exploited to emphasize a woman's sexual identity over her role as a worker or student. The power of men in these instances is institutionalised in our society in both material and ideological terms. Its consequences are negative for all of us as women.

In material or economic terms, sexual harassment both uses and helps to create women's 'secondary' place in the work environment. The structuring of the labour force in our capitalist society with its inherent sexual divisions of labour operates continuously to oppress women and make sexual harassment possible.